

A
HISTORY OF
PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE
AT THE MUGHAL COURT
WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH
OF URDU LANGUAGE
[BĀBUR to AKBAR]

PART II.—HUMĀYŪN

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
1. Humāyūn	1
2. Humāyūn with young Prince Akbar	22
3. Facsimile of the Title Page of Jawāhir-	
ul-'ulūm Humāyūni	98
4. Facsimile of fol. 1b <i>ib</i>
5. ,, ,, 3b <i>ib</i>
6. ,, ,, 813b <i>ib</i>
7. Shēr Shāh 121
8. Tomb of Shēr Shāh 128
9. Malik Muhammad Jā'isi 130
10. Humāyūn's remains being carried to the burial ground: the young Prince Akbar accompanying the cortege 134
11. The famous water-carrier, <i>king</i> , etc., appearing for his reward before Humā- yūn 142
12. Tomb of Humāyūn 196

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

		Page
1.	Humāyūn's accession to the throne ...	1
2.	Congratulatory poems	1
3.	Popularity of chronograms: a noteworthy feature of his reign in the history of Per- sian poetry in India	2
4.	His birth and education	4
5.	Waning influence of Turkī at his court, and his liking for Persian in contrast to his father's	5
6.	Turkī rarely employed in his private con- versation	7

CHAPTER II

1.	His taste for Persian poetry ...	10
2.	Specimens of his <i>ghazal</i> , <i>rubā'ī</i> , and <i>masnawī</i>	10
3.	His appreciation of Persian poets ...	21
4.	Estimate of his poetic taste: finer than that of an average poet	23
5.	His poetic insight: Corrects Hairatī and Jāhī	24
6.	His knowledge of Arabic	26
7.	His taste for Mathematics, History, Geogra- phy, and Astronomy	26

	Page
8. His tutors in Astronomy, and his interest and activities in this branch of science	29
9. Materials collected for an Observatory ...	33
10. Turkish Admiral's evidence ...	34

CHAPTER III

POETS AND SCHOLARS OF HIS REIGN WITH A SHORT DESCRIPTION OF EACH

1. Shaikh Amānullah Pānipatī ...	36
2. Shaikh Gadā'ī Dehlevī ...	38
3. Mīr Waisī ...	41
4. Shaikh 'Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī ...	43
5. Maulānā Jalālī Hindī ...	44
6. Maulānā bin i Ashraf al Husainī ...	45
7. Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī ...	47
8. Mir 'Abdul Latif Qazwīnī ...	52
9. Maulānā Ilyās ...	53
10. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī ...	55
11. Maulānā Junūbī ...	62
12. Shāh Tāhir Dakhanī ...	66
13. Shaikh 'Abdul Wājid Fārīghī Shirāzī ...	70
14. Yūsuf bin i Muhammad Hirawī ...	73
15. Khwāja Ayyūb ...	75
16. Maulānā Muhammad Fāzil Samarqandī ...	78
17. Jauhar ...	100
18. Bā Yazīd ...	102
19. Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī ...	104
20. Khwāja Husain Mervī ...	105
21. An unknown poet, author of an epic poem: Humāyūn Nāma...	109

	Page
CHAPTER IV	
1. Progress of Urdū in Humāyūn's reign ...	115
2. A parrot uttering an Urdū phrase ...	116
3. A definite advance made by Urdū under Hindū-Muslim cultivation of each other's literature	117
4. Faked Hindī letters of Rājās to Shēr Shāh, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter	117
5. Growth of Muslim poets of Hindī language, and Hindū writers of Persian prose and poetry	119
CHAPTER V	
1. Shēr Shāh: his name and parentage ...	121
2. His literary attainment, and patronage of letters	121
3. A young student of Arabic rewarded by Shēr Shāh for correct answers to questions on Arabic grammar ...	123
4. His taste for Persian and Hindī poetry ...	125
5. His death	127
6. Badāūnī's and Farishta's estimate of Shēr Shāh	128
7. Malik Muhammad Jā'isī: a poet of epoch-making significance	130
CHAPTER VI	
1. Humāyūn's death	133
2. Elegiac poems	134

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

وَلَا يُنْهَىٰ حِرْبَلَةَ نَابِرَ كَذَاهِمَ حِرْبَلَةَ نَابِرَ كَذَاهِمَ حِرْبَلَةَ نَابِرَ
نَابِرَ مَلْفِلَ جِهْيَلَةَ وَرَهْدَ بَلْلَهَ لَلْلَهَ جِهْيَلَةَ وَرَهْدَ بَلْلَهَ لَلْلَهَ جِهْيَلَةَ وَرَهْدَ بَلْلَهَ
شَعْلَلَهَ صَلَبَنَ سَعَلَلَنَ شَعْلَلَنَ صَلَبَنَ سَعَلَلَنَ شَعْلَلَنَ صَلَبَنَ سَعَلَلَنَ
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PART II—HUMAYUN

CHAPTER I

After Bābur's death, which took place at Āgra, his eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne in 937 A. H. The court poets composed congratulatory poems of which the following chronogram was cleverly devised mourning in one and the same breath for Bābur's death and exulting at Humāyūn's accession to the throne :

H u m a y u n 's accession to the throne.

Congratulatory poems.

شہ خسروان شاہ بابر کہ داشت^۱
دو صد بندہ مانند جمشید و کے
محمد همایوں بمحابیش نشست
چو طومار عمرش اجل کردا طے
چو پرسند تاریخ اے دل بگو
همایوں بود وارت ملک وے

¹ Mirzā 'Alāud daula Qazwīnī, Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir (abridged), B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 27a.

卷之三

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHAPTER 44

CHAPTER EIGHT

short by death; short by death; short by death;
O Khusrau ask the date, O Khusrau then ask the date, O Khusrau ask the date

Then with a loud voice (This is the voice of the King of Heaven) said he,

constitute him was the following:

سیمینه کاری خود را در سال ۱۹۷۰ با انتشار کتاب «ایرانیان در آمریکا» آغاز کرد. این کتاب از نظر علمی و تاریخی بسیار معتبر است و در ایران و خارج از ایران مورد توجه و ارجاع بسیاری قرار دارد.

On the other hand, the *Co* and *Co₂* species are characterized by a large number of substituents, which are distributed in a non-random way, as shown in Figure 1.

The year of his accession was “*Khair-ul-mulūk*” (the best of kings).

Again, when Humāyūn defeated Sultān Bahādur Gujārātī in a pitched battle at Mandsūr near Mālwa, the following *qit‘a* was composed to commemorate the date of this victory :

۱ همایون شاه غازی آنکه اوراست
 هزاران بندہ چون جمشید در خود
 بفیروزی چو آمد سوئے گجرات
 مظفر گشت فخر آل تیمور
 بهادر چوں ذاصل و خوار گردید (تیمر ۱۲)
 شده تاریخ آن ذلّ بهادر

Humāyūn is king, Ghāzī, and more,
 Thousands of slaves like Jamshīd him serve ;
 In victory, when he came to Gujārāt,
 Triumphed the ‘pride of Timūr’s race,’
 Bahādur, when fell so low and in disgrace,
 The date was found in ‘*zill i Bahādur*’
 (Bahādur’s disgrace).

Similarly when the fort of Champānēr was subdued by Humāyūn’s forces, the following verse was composed by the court poets in attendance :

۲ تاریخ ظفر یافتمن شاه همایون
 می جست خرد-یافتند شهر صفر بود

¹ Ibid., p. 346.

² Ibid., p. 347.

The date of Humāyūn's gaining victory,
Wisdom sought and found in 'nuh i Shahr i
Safar būd' (it was the 9th of Safar).

This chronogram is most ingeniously devised since its very words tell the date and the month, while the year is to be found in the numerical value of its letters. Such niceties in the art of composition date from the reign of Humāyūn, and were developed in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb.

He was born at Cābul of Bābur's first wife, Māham Bēgum, in 913 A. H., which is synchronous with Bābur's adoption of the title His birth and education. The date of his birth was found by many poets in their metrical compositions, of which the following is from the pen of Bābur's trusted noble Khwāja Kalān:

سال مولود همایون شما عست^۱

زادک الله تعالیٰ قدرا
بوده ام یک الف از تاریخش

قا کشم میل دو چشم بدرا

It is the year of the birth of Humāyūn Shāh,
May God increase thy rank and dignity;
I have carried off one 'alif' from his
chronogram,²
So that I may apply with it collyrium to the
two eyes of the evil.

Naqsh 'Ali, Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'āni (abridged and bound with Naṣīḥat ul Ma'āsir), B.M. MSS. Or. 1761, fol. 151b.

² This means that the chronogram is short by 1.

Short phrases also, as was customary with poets on such occasions, were ingeniously constructed giving the date of his birth, to indicate his future greatness and kingly career. Some of these are as follows :

سلطان همایون خان	...	[Sultān Humāyūn Khān]
شاه فیروز قدر	...	[Shāh Firūz Qadr]
پادشاه صف شکن	...	[Pādishāh Saf-Shikan]
خوش باد	...	[Khush Bād]

In his early youth he was trained under the fostering care of his father's learned secretaries Khwāja

Waning influence of Turkī at his Court, and his liking for Persian in contrast to his father's.

Kalān and Shaikh Zainuddin. His father also paid personal attention to his education and used to correct in his letters mistakes of spelling and diction every now and then.¹

While quite young he developed a taste for Mathematics and Astronomy in the association of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādi², Mullā Nūruddin,³ and the celebrated astronomer Maulānā Ilyās.⁴ He seemed to have little liking for Turkī, and employed it on few occasions only. The rapidly dwindling influence of Turkī at his court is clearly noticeable. While Bābur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turkī, Humāyūn, in inverse ratio, neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his court, as well as his own liking for Persian.

¹ Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. II, p. 624.

² Bī Yazid, Tārikhi Humāyūn, I.O. MSS. No 223, fol. 24b.

³ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 223.

⁴ Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 131.

The only instances of his Turki composition that could be discovered are the following :

- (i) A few letters that he wrote to his father.
- (ii) Occasional verses that he composed of which, however, no trace could be found, except of one which is preserved in his name as follows :

من کہ بلبل ایک کلمی دین کو بمشام اعنگ یلہ^۱
اوٹ سالیب تور خاتمه، خسارة کلمنک یلہ

The occasions on which he appreciated Turki verses were also few :

"After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift and a chronogram upon the conquest of India - also two *ghazals*, all of which pleased the Pādishāh greatly."²

"About the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh. I immediately wrote a chronogram for the occasion which found much favour. The incident furnished the material for a 'ghazal' with which the sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mir 'Ali Shir."³

¹ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

² A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Alī Re'is, p. 47, London, 1899.

³ Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Even in his private conversations he used Turkī rarely. On two occasions he spoke it merely with the object that his other courtiers Turkī rarely employed in his private conversation. might not understand him. One such occasion was at the blinding of Kāmrān. When 'Alī Dost, a trusted servant of Humāyūn, came to give him certain news about it with a view to take his further instructions in the matter, Humāyūn was surrounded by people, and this was apparently why the servant chose to communicate the object of his visit in Turkī, saying :

بوايشيکا هېچ کسى قلميدو^۱

Nobody does this work,

whereupon Humāyūn abusing him said :

اينى قلتاق سن غادە بولىپ تور سىن قلنك^۲

What is wrong with thee, do it thyself.

The other occasion was when on account of the scarcity of water and the monopoly of the available well by Tardī Bēg, the entire menial staff had conspired against him and made their complaint to Humāyūn. Humāyūn thereupon rode up to Tardī Bēg and spoke to him in Turkī merely to avoid his being understood

¹ Jauhar, Tazkirat ul wāqi'āt, B. M. MSS., Add. 16,711 fol. 123b.

² Ibid.

— 1 —

1. **Georgian** 2. **French** 3. **Spanish** 4. **Portuguese** 5. **Swedish** 6. **Italian** 7. **Polish** 8. **Chinese** 9. **Russian** 10. **Dutch**

Lesson 1

^۱ یک مغل پدست میرزا قلی افتد که بردوے او زخم محکم بود گرفت بدر گاه حضرت پادشاه اوره بربان تر کی عرض کرد که این شخص آنکس است که بحضرت پادشاه داسرا گفتہ بود فرمودند که بجزای خود رسیده است -

A Mughal on whose face there was a deep wound fell into the hands of Mirzā Quli Chūlī. Having arrested him he brought him to the court of His Majesty and said in Turkī language that the captive was that person who used unworthy language in respect of the Pādishāh. His Majesty replied that the wretch had received his reward.

One instance of his voluntarily employing Turkī while speaking to a Turk is as follows :

^۲ شخص رومی در بازار بودند که بحضرت پادشاه سلام کردند حضرت فرمودند که من دن دعا ده یعنی ازما بپادشاه روم دعا بده ایشان گفتند که کوز اوچم یعنی بچشم -

Two persons of Rūm were in the market. They saluted His Majesty. His Majesty replied, ‘*min dan du‘ā dih*,’ i.e., from me to the king of Rūm convey greetings. They rejoined, ‘*kūz ou cham*,’ i.e., heartily or with great pleasure.

^۱ Ibid., fol. 56a.

^۲ Ibid., fol. 82a.

CHAPTER II

While for Turkī he seems to have had an aversion, for Persian he had a special liking. He encouraged it at his court and himself employed it on all public and private occasions. His taste for Persian poetry. He also compiled a ‘diwān’¹ using ‘Humāyūn’ as his pen-name. His best poetry is to be found in his ‘ghazal.’

Some specimens are as follows:
‘Ghazal.’

غزل

کار من بامهوشے افتاده است
در درونم آتشے افتاده است
خانه ام روشن شد از روی حبیب
بہ توے ازمهوشے افتاده است
دل عرا ای جان بہر سومی کشد
قا دلم با دلکشے افتاده است
کام دل خواهم گرفتن این زمان
چون بدستم سر خوشے افتاده است
عقل و هوش از من محبویت‌دای بتان
چون همایون بیهشے افتاده است

¹ Abul Fazl testifies to its presence in the royal library : Cf. (and His Majesty's *diwān* exists in the royal library). [Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.]

* Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 39a.

With a beautiful maid my lot has fallen,
Within my heart a fire has fallen ;
My house is lit with the face of the loved,
From the beauteous moon (beloved) a ray has
fallen ;
In ev'ry way my heart, O life, draws me,
Since my heart to a ravisher of heart has
fallen ;
The object of my heart I'll seize now,
While to my hand dizzy delight has fallen ;
Sense and wit in me seek not beloved,
While Humāyūn in ecstasy has fallen.

گذشت از دل سر گشته ناون ستمش
رسید برمی دل خسته لذت المش
بقصد کشتن عشاق اگر کند میله
عجیب نباشد از اخلاص و شیوه کرمش
کرا است زهره قرب حريم عزت او
که جبرئیل امین نیست ملکرم حرمش
مرا بمکنست او خوشدلی بسے باشد
ز شادی دو جهان بهتر است درد و غمیش
اگر بپرسش عشاق می نهند قدمی
هزار جان گرامی فداه هر قدمش

The arrow of his tyranny pierced my
bewildered heart,
My wounded heart has tasted the sweetness
of the pang of his love:

Ibid.

If for the killing of lovers he shows an
inclination,
It is not strange from the demands of his
generosity and sincere feeling ;
Who has the courage¹ to go near the shrine
of his glory ?
When Gabriel—the trusted—is not the
confidant thereunto ;
In his love the joy of my heart grows too
great,
Pain and grief for him are better than the
joys of earth and heaven ;
If to inquire after lovers he may put a step,
A thousand dignified souls be sacrificed at
every step of his.

وصف لعل تو بربان منست²
آن شے در میان جان منست
هر که باشد بمجلس رفدان
بی خود از نعرا و نغان منست
انچه در وصف حسن او گویند
جمله در شرم و در بیان منست

¹ Literally, ‘gall-bladder.’

² Nafāis ul Ma’āsir, fol. 39b.

Cf. another similar ode with but slight difference in ‘qāfiya’:

داغ عشق تو برجیس منست خاتم لعل تو تئین سـ
تا نشتم چو خاک ببر تو بشـت بام تک زین منـ
هر کجا شـاه ؛ شـہر یارے بـود ایـں زـمان بـندـه کـمـین منـ
خط مشـکـیـن بـصـفـتـه گـفـام آـیـت رـحـمـت مـبـیـن منـ
[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 460.]

The praise of thy ruby is on my tongue,
 A fire is within my soul ;
 Whoever might happen to be in the assembly
 of the abandonnes,
 Is beside himself by my cry and lament ;
 Whatever they say in the praise of his
 beauty,
 All is contained in my expression and
 comment.

خوش آنکه با خیالت عمری نشسته بودم^۱
 و ز شوق سرو قدت از پای خسته بودم
 عیبم مکن که گفتم زلف ترا پریشان
 در شرح جعد زلفت چون دل شکسته بودم
 وی سوی من که دیدی پرسیده چه حالت
 از چشم تا بناكت بسیار خسته بودم
 در شرم غنچه او هرگز نگفت حرفے
 لب را دران حکایت پیوسته بسته بودم
 حقا که چون عمايون در حال وصل بیکھو
 با دوست در حکایت از خویش رفته بودم

Happy the recollection when the greater
 part of my life I had sat in thy thought,
 And in search of thy cypress-like stature
 my feet were sore ;

^۱ Ibid.

Do not find fault with me that I called thy
lock ' disorderly,'
Since in commenting on thy curly lock I
was broken-hearted;
Last night when thou looked at me and
inquired after my condition,
I felt much crushed and dazed by thy
beaming eyes;
In explanation of his bud, my lip did never
utter a word,
I had kept it always shut in that tale ;
By God out of wits like Humāyūn in union
with the beloved,
In relating my tale to my friend I had
gone beside myself.

ای دل مکن اضطراب در پیش رقیب^۱

حال دل خود مگوئے با هیچ طبیب
کار یکه ترا به آن جفا کار افتاده
بس قصه مشکلسست و بس امر عجیب

O heart, show no restlessness before the rival,
Divulge not to any physician the condition of
thy heart ;
Thy work that has fallen with that practiser of
tyranny,
Is a hard tale and a curious affair.

¹ Ibid., fol. 4a.

هستیم ز حان بندۀ اولاد علی^۱
 هستیم همیشه شادبا یاد علی
 چون سر ولایت از علی ظاهر شد
 کردیم همیشه ورد خود یاد علی

We are from our hearts slaves to the
 sons of 'Ali,
 We are ever happy in the memory of 'Ali ;
 Since the mystic's secret is revealed
 through 'Ali,
 We always recalled the memory of 'Ali.

یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گردان^۲
 واقف بحقایق خواصم گردان
 از عقل جفا کار دل افگار شدم
 دیوانه خود خوان و خلاصم گردان

O God with Thy plentiful grace select me
 for Thy nearness,
 Make me acquainted with the secrets of Thy
 chosen people ;

^۱ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446.

NOTE.—The word 'یاد' in the last hemistich seems to be a misprint for 'نام' which is more appropriate and is in accordance with the rules of prosody as saving a needless repetition of the word 'یاد' which occurs twice in the quatrain. But as the first reading is found in some other works also besides Farishta, the same is retained here in the text.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 435 (Newal Kishore edition, 1284 A. H.).

Through my tyrannic wisdom my heart was
rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from all
cares.

ای دل ز حضور یار فیروزی کن^۱
در خدمت او بصدق دلسوزی کن
هر شب بخیال دوست خرم بنشین
هر روز بوصل یار نوروزی کن

O heart, reap success from the presence of
the beloved,
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service :
Every night sit jubilant in the thought of
thy friend,
Every day celebrate a new year's day in
union with him.

اے آنکه جفای تو بعالم علم است^۲
دوز یکه ستم نه بینم از تو ستم است
هر غم که رسد از ستم چرخ بدل
مارا چو غم عشق تو باشد جه غم است

O thou whose tyranny is well-known all
the world over,
The day on which I do not experience
severity from thee is severe ;
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the
oppression of the sky,

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.

I care not for, so long as I have the grief
of thy love in me.

اے آنکھ زیاد، تو دلم باشد شاد
بی یاد تو خاطرم دے شاد مباد
وو زیکھ ز یاد تو کنم صد فریاد
آیا ز من غمزدات آید یاد

O thou from whose memory my heart
gains joy,
Without thy memory my soul no joy can know ;
The day that in thy memory a hundred
cries I raise,
Come to thee of me, the grief-stricken,
remembrance ?

Once in his appeal to Kāmrān for peace, he
subscribed the following verses purporting that for
every drop of blood spilt, Kāmrān would be answer-
able before God on the day of judgment :

بود خون آن قوم در گردند
بود دست آن جمع در دامنت
همان به که بر صلح رای اوی
طريق مروت بجاي اوی

¹ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 278

Cf. Kāmrān's blunt reply to Humāyūn's generous appeal :

عروس ملک کسی در نثار گیرد تنگ که بوسه بور لب شمشیر آبدار دهد
He alone holds fast the bride of kingdom,
Who kisses the lip of the sharp sword.

The blood of that people hangs on thy neck,
 The hand of that band is on thy skirt ;
 Better is that thou decidest on peace,
 And sheweth the manner of kindliness and
 generosity.

An instance of his composing *masnawī* is to be found in one of his letters which he addressed to 'Masnawī,' Bairām Khān on the occasion of the conquest of Qandhār :

باز فتحے ز غیب روی نمود که دل دوستان ازو بکشود
 شکر لله که باز شادانیم بر رخ یار و دوست خندا نیم
 دشمنان را بکام دل دیدیم میوه باغ فتح را چیدیم
 دوز نوروز بیرم است امروز دل احباب بے غم است امروز
 شاد بادا همیشه خاطر یار غم نگردد بگرد یار، دیار
 همه اسباب عیش آماد است دل بفکر، صالت افتاد است
 که جمال حبیب کے بینم گل ز باغ وصال کے چینم
 گوش خرم شود ز گفتارت دیده روشن شود ز دیدارت
 در حریم حضور شاد بهم بنشینیم خرم و بے غم
 بعد ازان فکر کار هند کنیم عزم تستخیر ملک سند کنیم
 هر در بسته کشاده شود هرجه خواهیم ازان زیاده شود
 انجه خواهیم ازان و زمین گوید آمین جبرئیل امین
 یا الہی میسرم گردآں دو جهان را مسخرم گردان

¹ Ibid.

Again a victory showed its face from
Invisibility,
That the hearts of friends cheered to see it ;
Thanks be to God that we are again happy,
And we smile on the faces of companions and
friends ;
We saw our enemies with the object of their
heart achieved.
We plucked the fruit of the garden of victory ;
To-day is the Bairām's New Year's day ;
The heart of friends is without a grief to-day ;
The heart of the dear one be ever happy,
Grief may not go near to his heart, nor to
his native town ;
All the requisite material for comfort is ready,
My heart is anxious for union with thee ;
When would it be that I see the beauty of
the loved one,
When would I pluck the flower of the garden
of union with him ;
When should my ear become happy in
listening to thy speech,
And my eye lighted through seeing thy face ;
In the sanctuary of thy presence happy
together,
We sit cheerful and without a grief ;
After this we turn our care to the affairs of
India,
Resolved to subdue the kingdom of Sindh ;
Every door that is shut will be opened,
Whate'er we wished, more than that shall
we gain ;

And to what we desire from 'time' and
 'earth,'
 The trusty (amin) Gabriel will say 'amen';
 O God, make it our lot,
 Both the worlds be subdued to us.

He had also subscribed as a post-script the following quatrain of his ready composition on the margin :

۱۔ آنکہ انیس خاطر، محزونی
 چون طبع لطیف خویشتن موزونی
 بے یاد تو نیستم زمانے هرگز
 آیا تو بیاد من محزن چونی

O thou, who art the consoler of the grieved heart,
 Like thine own pure disposition thou art well-balanced;
 Without thy recollection I am not for a moment,
 How art thee in the recollection of a grieved one like me?

¹ Ibid. Cf. Bairām Khān's reply :

اے آنکہ بذات سایہ بیچرنی از هرچه ترا وصف ننم افزوونی
 چون میدانی که بیتو چون میکزد چون میدرسی که در نراثم چونی
 O thou, who art in person the shadow of the Incomparable,
 Thou art more than whatever I praise thee with;
 Since thou knowest how I pass my time without thee,
 Why dost thou ask how I fare in thy separation?

One day the emperor planned a little excursion on horse-back to visit the graves of the holy Sheikhs of Lahore, and I accompanied His appreciation of Persian him. We visited the graves of Shāh poets. Qutbeddīn the Pir of Delhi, of Sheikh Nizām Weli, Sheikh Ferid Shekr-Ghendj, Mir Khosru Dehlevī and Mīr Husein Dehlevī. When the conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mir Khosru, I quoted some of his best poems, and under their influence I conceived a most telling distich. I turned to the emperor saying, 'It would be presumption on my part to measure my powers against those of Mir Khosru, but he has inspired me, and I would fain recite my couplet before your Majesty.' 'Let us hear it,' said Humāyūn, and I recited the following :

هر که قانع شد دیگ نان چاره مزد مهترست^۱
کار او از جمله شاهان عالم بهترست

¹ Sidi 'Ali Re'is-Mir'at ul Mamālik, p. 35, Iqdām Press,
Stambūl, 1313 A. H.

Cf. Khusrav's original verses:

کوس شه خالی و بانگ غلشن درد سر است
هر که قانع شد بخششک و تر شه بعد رو بر است
مزد پنهان در گلیمه پادشاه عالم است
تیغ خفتہ در نیامے پاسبان کشور است

Truly great is he who became contented with
his daily bread,
Better is his affair than all the kings of the
earth.
'By God,' cried the monarch, 'this is truly sublime.'¹

On one occasion Humāyūn quoted Nizāmī in a letter to Prince Akbar, reprimanding him for his playing truant :

غافل منشی نه وقت بازیست²
وقت هنر است ، کار سازیست

Don't sit idly, 'Tis not the time for play,
'Tis time for acquiring skill and doing work.

He had also inscribed in his own handwriting the following verse of Shaikh Āzārī on a niche of the arch of his palace :

شندیده ام که بزین طارم زر اندوه است³
خط که عاقبت کار جمله محمود است

I have heard that on this golden vault there is,
An inscription which is the end of the work
of all Mahmūds.

¹ A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Alī Re'īs,
p. 54.

² Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 316.

³ Ibid., p. 363.



HUMĀYŪN WITH HIS PET HAWK, AND THE
YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR.

[Exhibit : 1911 Exhibition, Allahabad.]

From his own verses which include almost all principal kinds of poetry except 'qasīda' and, *qit'a*,¹ his position as a poet of the Persian language is clearly established. In his Estimate of his poetic taste: (finer) than that of an average poet. 'ruba'i' and 'ghazal' while behind no one, he stands ahead of many of his contemporaries. The chief feature of his style is the clearness of expression which pervades all his writings, and his words are always few, simple, and compact.

¹ One instance of same as found in some Persian works like the Ātashkada, p. 39 (edited by Bland, London, 1844), and the Majma'ul, Fusahā, p. 62, is as follows. This he is said to have written to Shāh Tahmāsp after his arrival in Persia :

خسرو ا عمریست تا عنقاء عالی هم
قله قاف قناعت را نشیمن کرده است
دوز کاری سفله گندم نماء جو فروش
طوطی طبع مرا قانع به ارزن کرده است
دشمن شیر است و عمری پیش بیمن کرده بود
حالیا از روئ خصی دوی بیمن کرده است
دارم اکنون انسان از شده که تا من کند
انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ارژن کرده است

It may be noted that the last line with but slight variation occurs in Salmān Sāwaji's '*qit'a*' as follows :

از خدا آمید دارم شاه با ما آن کند
انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ارژن کرده است

Also, he is said to have sent to the Shāh a 'ruba'i' of which only one line could be traced as under :

شاهان همه سایه هما می خواهند بنگر که هما آمده در سایه تو
To this the Shāh's reply was the following :
همان اوج سعادت بدم ما افتاد اگر ترا گزئ در مقام ما افتاد

Once during his flight to Persia, Mullā Hairati,
 His poetic insight : corrects a poet of Trans-Caspian Province,
 Hairati and presented him with a 'ghazal' of which
 Jāhī.¹ the opening lines ran thus :

گه دل از عشق بتان گه جگرم میسوزد²
 عشق هر لحظه بداغ دگرم میسوزد
 همچو پروانه به شمع سروکار است مر ا
 که اگر بیش روم بال و پرم میسوزد

Sometimes the heart burns with the love of
 the beautiful, sometimes the liver,
 Love every second burns me with a fresh scar ;
 Like the moth I have my affair with a candle
 lamp,
 That if I go further, my wing and feather
 burn.

Humāyūn improving on the last hemistich put it
 as follows :

میروم بیش اگر بال و پرم میسوزد

¹ Both were notable poets of Persian language and received favours from Humāyūn. The latter having entered into his service at Cābul accompanied him to India, and remained here till his death which occurred in 956 A. H. For a fuller account of his life and verses refer Badāūnī, Vol. I, pp. 477—480.

² Bā Yazid, Tārikh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS. No. 223, fol. 12b.

On another occasion he improved on Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā, who had entered his service at Cabul. The former had composed a satire on Muhammad Khān Shāpūr and was asked by Humāyūn to read it before the assembly in which Muhammad Khān also was present. When the poet recited the following verses:

شاعر شاه همایونم و خاک در گه^۱
 میزند کو کبه شاعریدم طعنہ بدہ مه
 واں انکس که بخیل شعر ا بستیزد
 هر که باما بستیزد ببلا بستیزد

I am the poet of the King Humāyūn, and am
 the dust of his court,
 The star of the banner of my poetry taunts
 the moon ;
 Alas for him who picks a quarrel with the
 band of poets,
 Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with
 calamity.

Humāyūn at once remarked :

چرا همچنین نمیگوئی ”هر که باما بستیزد بخدا
 بستیزد“^۲

Why dost thou not say so, “whoever quarrels
 with us quarrels with God ”?

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 477.

² Ibid.

He has been often referred to by Jauhar and Mīrzā 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī as reading the Qur'ān and also quoting from memory several verses from same on various occasions. Once on gaining victory over the Afghāns he recited the verse :

الْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِي أَحْيَانَا^۱

Praise be to Him Who brought us to life.

On another occasion he quoted from the *Traditions* as follows :

مَنْ حَفَرَ بِرًا لَّا يَخِدْ فَقَدْ وَقَعَ فِيهِ^۲

He who dug a pit for his brother, verily himself fell into it.

Some more instances are to be found in the works of contemporary authors like Bā-Yazid and Jauhar. They show to a certain extent his knowledge in Arabic as well as his taste for religious literature.

From his very childhood he evinced a taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy,

His taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and took regular lessons on these branches of Science from Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, and Maulānā Ilyās :

¹ Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 37a.

² Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqi'at, B.M. MSS., Add. 16, 711. fol.

^۱ در هم امسال فرمان عالیشان باسم شیخ ابوالقاسم استرابادی که علم ریاضی را خوب میدانست صادر شده بود..... و حضرت تعظیم شیخ ابوالقاسم (بسیار می کردند) بجهة اینکه قرارداده بودند که شاگرد او شوند و سبق بالخوانند و آخر بموجب قرارداد عمل فرمودند و حکیم مشار الیه در سلک سپاهیان در آمد و در هند بجا آیر خوب سرفراز گشت -

And in this very year the royal mandate in the name of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādi who knew the science of Mathematics well, had been issued. And His Majesty had resolved to become his pupil and take lessons from him, and at last His Majesty according to his resolution, acted. And the abovenamed scientist, having entered into His Majesty's service in the link of soldiers, was installed in a good 'jāgīr' in India.

Abul Fazl and Farishta write thus :

^۲ در اقسام علم ریاضی انحضرت را پایه بلند بود و همواره به ارباب حکمت صحبت میداشتند و ممتازان علم ریاضی در پایه سریر والا کامیاب سعادت بودند

^۱ Bā Yazid, Tārikh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 24b

^۲ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.

And in the branches of Mathematics His Majesty ranked high and he always associated with scientists and those distinguished in Mathematics had the boon of attending at the foot of the sublime throne.

وَدْرِ عِلْمٍ رِيَاضِيِّ عِلْمَ مُهَادَتٍ مِيَ افْرَاشَتْ مَدَارِصَحْبَتِش
بَا عِلْمَا وَفَضْلَا بُودَ وَهُمَّةَ وَقْتٍ دَرِمَجْلِسٍ اوْ مَسَايِلِ عِلْمِي
مَذَكُورٌ مِيشَد -

And in the science of Mathematics he lifted up the banner of skill. His social intercourse was based with the learned and the accomplished ; and at all times in his assembly scientific problems were discussed.

In history he appears to have been conversant with the Muslim periods of different countries specially India, Central Asia, and Arabia. Once he related a historical anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghazni's army to serve as a lesson to his own men purporting that honesty is the key to success.¹

Also, he transcribed in his own handwriting his father's autobiography '*Wāqi'āt i Bābūrī*' from the beginning to the end. This would have

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 459.

² Cf. the statement :

خُرَتْ پَادِھَا اِنْ حَکَايَتْ بِعِرْدَمْ خُودْ اَظْهَارْ كَرْدَنْدْ نَهْ نَيْتْ نِيكْ اِينْچَنْيَنْ
شُورَةَ مِيدَھَدْ جُورْ نِھَتْ سَلَطَانْ صَادَقْ يَدْ عَمْ تَقْمَ اِرْزَانِي شَدَدْ عَمْ كَنْجَ يَانْخَ -
[Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M., MSS. Add. 16711, fol. 105b.]

certainly given him an insight into the social and political relations of the contemporary Central Asian States. He also developed a taste for Geography and had globes constructed for his use :

پس کرۂ خاک، آب انتظام، تقسیم دبع مسکون
بۂ اقالیم سبعة، قوع یافته بود^۱

So the globes of the earth and the water had been set up, and the divisions of the habitable quarter into seven regions accomplished.

His tutors in Astronomy were Mullā Nūruddīn, and Maulānā Ilyās. The keen interest which he took in this branch of science is significant as compared with his father's as well as with that of his successors in India. Bābur and pre-Bābur Mughals, (with the exception of 'Ulūgh Bēg^۲) down to his own time, apparently had little faith or

^۱ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 361.

^۲ Son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Timūr, had been appointed as governor of *Māwarā un Nahr* during his father's lifetime. He was a devoted student of Astronomy, Mathematics, and Philosophy, and a patron of those interested in scientific subjects. During his governorship he got built at Samarcand an Observatory which was called after his name. He also marked the position of stars and recorded his observations in a separate volume known as 'Zij i-'Ulūgh Beg' (or 'Ulūgh Beg's Almanac). Daulat Shāh has given a glorious account of 'Ulūgh Bēg's scientific

knowledge in things astrological. He got built a 'Khargāh' (a tent) which was divided into twelve halls of audience, each of which was named after one of the twelve constellations of stars. The furniture and paintings of these halls, as also the dresses of the servants, bore emblematic symbol of the planets :

وَازْ جَمَلَه مُخْتَرَعَات شَرِيفَة أَنْحَضَرَتْ خَرَگَاهَ بَودَ
كَه بَعْدَنْ بَزْ دَوْج سَبْهَرْ مُشْقَمَلَ بَزْ دَوْازَدَه قَسْمَتَ بَودَه
هَرْ بَرْجَه مُشْقَمَلَ بَزْ بَنْجَرْ هَا كَه اَنْوَارْ كَوَا كَبْ دَوْلَتَ اَزْ
نَقْبَهَايَ اَنْ تَابَانَ بَودَ وَ خَرَگَاهَ دِيْكَرْ مَانِندَ غَلَكَ الْأَفَلَاكَ
جَمِيعَ جَوَانِبَ اَيْنَ خَرَگَاهَ رَا اَحَاطَه نَمُودَه بَودَ -

And of all the inventions of His Majesty was a tent which was divided, according to the number of the zodiacs of the sky, into twelve divisions. Every zodiac was divided into cages, from the holes of which the rays of the stars of Fortune shone bright. And another tent like the '*falakul aflāk*' (or the sky of skies) enveloped the sides of this tent.

activities and his great achievements in the theoretical and applied Astronomy. According to him there has appeared no monarch like 'Ulūgh Bēg, in the whole history of Islām. [vide *Tazkiratuh Shu'arā*—Edited by Prof. Browne—Account of 'Ulūgh Bēg, pp. 361—6]. For a description of a Calendar based on 'Ulūgh Bēg's system, *vide Carre de Vaux's article 'Un Calendrier Turque'* in Essays presented to Professor E. G. Browne, edited by T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson.

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 361.

Also, he got ready a carpet which had nine astronomical circles marked on it, each of which was named after a particular star, and assigned to his courtiers according to their ranks :

^۱ و از مخترعات آنحضرت بساط نشاط بود و آن بساط مسندیه مشتمل بود در دایره افلاک و کرات عناصر، دائرة اول (که منسوب بود بفلک اطلس) سفید رنگ واقع شده بود و دوم کبود و سیموم بمناسبت زحل سیاه و چهارم (که محل برجهیس است) صندلی و پنجم (که متعلق به بهرام است) اعلی و ششم (که خانه نیر اعظم است) زرین، هفتم (که منزل فاهید است) سبز روشن و هشتم (که جا عطارد است) سوسنی و دائرة نهم (که منزل قمر است) سفید است و بعد از دایرة قمر کره نار، هوا بترتیب مرتب گشته خود به نفس نفیس دایرۀ زرین را اختیار میفرمودند و آذجای سریر آراء خلافت میشدند و هر طایفة از منسوبات کواكب سبعه سیاره را در دایرۀ (که با راء آن وضع کرده شده) بنشستن حکم میفرمودند مثلًا امراء هندی را در دایرۀ زحل و سادات و علماء را در دایرۀ مشتری.....

And of the inventions of his Majesty was a pleasure carpet, and that spherical carpet was divided into the circles of the sky and the globes of the Elements. The first circle

^۱ Ibid.

(which was attributed to ' *falak i atlas*') was white in colour ; and the second was blue ; and the third in appropriateness with Saturn was black ; and the fourth (which is the resort of Jupiter) was of sandal colour ; and the fifth (which is related to Mars) was of ruby colour ; and the sixth (which is the abode of the Sun) golden ; and the seventh (which is the resting place of Venus) bright green ; and the eighth (which is the place of Mercury) is of lily colour ; and the ninth circle (which is the halt of the Moon) is white. And after the circle of the moon the spheres of the fire and the air were arranged in order. His Majesty for himself adopted the golden circle, and there seated himself on the throne, and every group of people, from among those assigned to the seven planets, was ordered by his Majesty to sit in a circle (which was constructed just opposite to that planet) for instance, the Indian ' *Umarā* were ordered to sit in the circle of Saturn, and the learned in that of Jupiter.

^۱ و از شرایف اختراعات آنحضرت پوشیدن لباس هر دو ز بود موافق رنگی که منسوب بکوکب روز است که مربی اوست چنانچه در روز یکشنبه خلعت زر می پوشیدند که منسوب به نیزاعظم است و در روز دوشنبه لباس سبز که منسوب بقمر است و بزیں قیام -

^۱ Ibid.

And among the excellent inventions of his Majesty was the dress for each day in accordance with the colour attributed to the planet of that day which is its patron, so that on Sunday his Majesty robed himself in yellow which is attributed to the Sun, and on Monday in green which is attributed to the Moon, and so on.

He was also preparing to build an observatory for which necessary apparatus and the site had ready for an observatory. Materials been provided, but owing to his sudden death, the same could not be accomplished:

وَ آنحضرت را اراده بستن رصد عصمه بود و بسیارے
از آلات رصدی ترتیب داده بودند و چند محل رصد
خیال فرموده بودند -

And his Majesty was firmly resolved to build an observatory and had set up in order many of the instruments for same and had fixed in his mind a few sites as well.

All this taste he acquired in Indian atmosphere evidently under the influence of Hindū astrology which came into contact with Persian astrology for the first time under the patronage of a Mughal emperor. Like the *Pandits* he believed in the efficacy of the stars and their potentiality in producing good or bad results in consequence of which

¹ Ibid., p. 368.

he had regulated all his actions according to the supposed influence of the twelve zodiacs and the seven planets. His keenness for astronomical researches has been further described as follows by the Turkish Admiral who was himself made to work on same, and permitted to leave India subject only to the work being finished:

"The roads are flooded and impassable, remain therefore till the weather improves. Meanwhile calculate Solar and Turkish Admiral's Lunar Eclipses, their degree of Latitude, and their exact date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers in studying the course of the Sun, and instruct us concerning the points of the Equator. When all this is done and the weather should improve before three months are over, thou shalt go hence". . . All this was said solemnly and decisively, I had no alternative but must submit to my fate. At last I had accomplished the astronomical observations, and about the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh.¹

¹ A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Ali, Re'is, p. 48. The part played by astrological terms in the development of the more ornate forms of later Persian is perhaps one of its most remarkable features.

ANSWER

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER III

CHATE

Geography

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S. Mir Waist S. Mir Waist S. Mir Waist
Abdul Wahid&BnSheikh Abdul Wahid&BnSheikh Abdul Wahid&BnSheikh Ab

Maulana Jalal Hind⁵, Maulana Jalali Hind⁵, Maulana bin i Ashraf⁶, Maulana bim i Ashraf⁶, al Maulana bin i Ashraf⁶, al Maulana

lys 9. Maulana Ilyas 9. Maulana Ilyas 9. Maulana Ilyas

Maulene Joubert **Maegan Junck** **Mavlemi Chatman**

Sabegkhay Abu Wajid, Sabegkhay Abu Al-
Wajid, Abu Al-Wajid, Abu Al-Wajid, Abu Al-

19. Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī
20. Khwāja Husain Mervī
21. An unknown poet: author of an epic poem.

A short description of each is given below:

A learned Sūfi and theologian—resident of Pānipat—was one of Humāyūn's chief poets, and

S h a i k h A m ā n u l l ā h wrote several *qasāid* in praise of him. His style is comparatively simple and Pānipati, his poetry sweet and full of pathos. Some specimens of his composition are as follows:

مدام از حسرت آن لعل میگوون
دلے دارم صراحی دار پرخون
تو چون ایلی مقیم خلوت ناز
منم آواره عالم چو مجنون
گر از تن جان بصدق حسرت برآید
ز دل مهرت نخواهد دفت بیرون
امانی کامران در بزم عیش است
بعهد خسرو دوران همایون

Always in fond desire for that wine-coloured
ruby,

I have a heart like the wine-jug full of
blood;

Thou like Lailā resideth in the seclusion
of daintiness,

¹ 'Ali Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, *Riyāz ush Shu'arā*, B.M. MSS.
Add. 16, 729, fol. 44b.

On Mirzā Hindāl's death, which occurred in a night attack led by Kamrān's troops against Humāyūn's camp which was situated near Surkhāb, Amānī wrote the following chronogram, and presented it to his Majesty :

^۱شاه هندال سر و گلشن ناز
چون ازین بوستان مکنست رفت
گفت تاریخ قمری نالان
سرده از بوستان دولت رفت

Shāh Hindāl, the cypress of the garden of
daintiness,
When he went away from this garden of toil;
The lamenting dove uttered the date,
'A cypress went away from the royal garden.'

Besides this, he composed other chronograms as well, and was chiefly noted in his day for his skill in same. He has been mentioned in this connection by Bā Yazid who styles him as *Amāni*, *Manīja* and quotes one of his most beautiful chronograms which

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 454.

he had composed on the death of Sultān Chaghtā'i, a young Mughal chief who was a favourite of Humāyūn :

سلطان چفتے بود گل گلشن خوبی
 نا گه اجلش سوی جنان را نمون شد
 در موسم گل عزم سفر کرد ازین باعث
 دل غنچه صفت در غم او غرقه ناخون شد
 قاریخ وے از بلبل ماتم زده جستم
 در ناله شد و گفت گل از باعث بروون شد

Sultān Chaghtā'i was the flower of the
 garden of excellence,
 All of a sudden Death led him on the way
 to Paradise ;
 In the season of flowers he resolved to go
 from this garden,
 The heart like the bud drowned in blood in
 his grief :
 The date of his departure I sought from the
 grief-stricken nightingale,
 It went into lamentation and said, ' a flower
 went out of the garden.'

He was one of the greatest scholars of Humāyūn's reign, and was the son of the famous poet Shaikh Shāikh Jamālī Kambūh of Sultān Sikandar Gadā'i Deh-levi. early life in acquiring knowledge and in lecturing to students of moral philosophy

¹Tārīkh-i Humāyūn, I.O. MSS., 223, fol. 22a.

and logic in Gujārāt. In the year of Humāyūn's death, he repaired to the court of Akbar at the invitation of Bairām Khān, and was raised through the latter's special favour to the high rank of 'sadārat.'¹ This installation of the Shaikh was chiefly due to his past loyal services to Bairām Khān during his stay in Gujārāt where he had gone on a special mission in the reign of Humāyūn. His alliance with Bairām Khān which gave him ample shelter and scope for showing favours to his own followers and disciples by appointing them to responsible posts, led him subsequently to interfere with the politics of the State, and he became a zealous member of a political party against Akbar. Abul Fazl as a loyal supporter of Akbar's interests condemns the Shaikh as a mischief-maker and a rebel.² His power and influence came to an end with the fall of Bairām Khān. As a scholar he still remained prominent. So great was the fame of his learning that scholars from Māwarā un Nahr, 'Irāq, and Khurāsān, used to come to India for an

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 21.

² Cf. the statement :

..... بااتفاق شد بختان مثل ولی بیگ ذوالقدر و شیخ گدائی
کبتو اندیشہاے تباہ بخاطر آورده خیالات خام پختن گرفت و چون
باطن نورانی حضرت شاهنشاهی بر خدا بیع ایر، گوره کافر نعمت آگاهی
یافھ پیش از آنکه این گوره گمراہ بدکردار خیال فاسد خود ظاهر
سازند الخ

[Ibid., p. 93.]

interview with him.¹ He is the first notable example in the reign of Humāyūn to combine the knowledge of Arabic and Persian with that of Hindi. In Persian he wrote chiefly 'ghazal' of which a specimen is given below :

گهه جان منزل غم شد گهه دل
 غمت را میبرم منزل بمنزل
 مشو غافل ز حال دره مندی
 که از حال تو یکدم نیست غافل
 دل دیوانه در زلف تو بستم
 گرفتارم باش مشکین سلاسل
 بچان دادن اگر آسان شدی کار
 نبودی عاشقان را هیچ مشکل
 گدانی جان بناکامی به آمد
 نشد کام ز لعل یار حاصل

Sometimes the soul was the abode of love,
 sometimes the heart,
 I carry thy love from place to place ;
 Be not remiss to the need of one, grief-
 stricken,
 For he forgets not thee for a moment;

¹ Cf :

و چند سال مرجع اکابر و افاضل هندوستان و خراسان و مادراد انہر
 و عراق بوده

[Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 76.]

² Ibid.

I tied my infatuated heart to thy curly lock,
 I am ensnared in that musky chain;
 If by surrendering one's life the task would
 become easy,
 To lovers no difficulty would have remained ;
 O Gadā'i, life ended with failure,
 My object was not achieved from the ruby
 lips of the beloved.

He also composed verses in Hindī, and often sang them before his compatriots in Hindī tune.¹ He died in 976 A. H., twelve years after the death of Humāyūn.

He was one of the grandees of the court of Humāyūn, and is stated, like Mir 'Alī Shir Nawā'i of Mir Waisi. Sultān Husain's court, or 'Abdurrahim Khān i Khānān of the reign of Akbar, to be a patron of poets and scholars of his time. He had a fine taste for poetry, and every now and then arranged poetical assemblies in which he personally took part. On one occasion he composed a marvellous ode of which the opening line is as follows :

امیدوار چنانم که شرمساری من²
 شود به پیش تو عذر گناهگاری من

¹ Cf. the statement :

طبع نظم داشته و نقش و صوت هندی می بست و می گفت

[Ibid.]

² Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 479a.

I hope so much that my penitence,
May serve before thee as an excuse for my
sin.

One instance of his *qit'a* writing is to be found
in the following chronogram which he composed on
the death of Mirzā Kāmrān at Mecca :

شہ کامران خسرو نامدار^۱
کہ در سلطنت سربکیوان رساند
مجاور شد اندر حرم چار سال
بکلی دل از قید عالم رهاند
ز بعد وقوف حج چار میں
با حرام حج جان بجانان فشاند
جو در خواب ویسی در آمد شبی
عنایت نمود و سوے خویش خواند
بگفت ار بپرسندت از فوت ما
بگو - شاه مرحوم در کعبه ماند

The king Kāmrān, the renowned monarch,
Who through rule...raised his head to Saturn;
Became a sojourner in the *harem* for four
years,
Freed his heart completely from the prison
of this world;
After the realization of the fourth *haj*,
In the *ihrām* of *haj* entrusted his soul to the
Beloved;

¹ *Badāūnī*, Vol. I, p. 452.

When one night he appeared in Waisī's dream,
He showed kindness and called him near ;
Then said, " if they ask thee about my decease,
Say, the blessed king remained in Ka'ba."

His poetry, as seen from the above, is simple and melodious, and was but slightly affected by the current poetic tendencies at the court.

Like Shaikh Gadā'i he too was a Hindi-Persian poet, and a scholar of varied accomplishments. On Shaikh 'Abdul Wahid Bil-grāmī. account of constant reading and writing his sight became weak. Badaūnī interviewed him at Qannauj in 977 A.H., when the Shaikh on account of his old age had confined himself to his native place. His chief works are the following :

1. A commentary on *Nuzhat ul Arwāh*¹ which Badaūnī praises as authentic.
2. *Sanābil*—a treatise on the technical terms of Sūfism.

In his last days he was much devoted to Sūfism, and wrote several works on that subject. He also composed Hindi verses and sang them in Hindi tune. In Persian composition he paid more attention to 'ghazal' and wrote elegant verses in same. The chief feature of his poetry, as is commonly observed in contemporary writers, is the frequent use of figures of speech with an attempt to create niceties in them. Once he wrote a 'ghazal' with a flexible turn of phrase

¹ A work on Sūfism by a celebrated scholar Fakhrus Sa'ādat, written in the early part of the eighth century A.H. at Herāt.

and fancy in praise of his dear friend named Rāja.
The opening line is worth noticing :

اے کرده خیال تو بہ تخت دل ما جا
هرگز نبود دل ما غیر ترا جا

O thou, whose thought has made its seat on
the throne of my heart,
Never in my heart is there place for other
than thee.

Another beautiful verse quoted by Badāunī is as follows :

مرد بجنگ جو اول بصلح آمد
دمی بلطف نشین تا ز خویش برخیزم

A poet of Humāyūn's court—chiefly known for his lyric poetry and enigma-writing both in Hindi and Persian. Two of his 'ghazals,' Maulānā Jallā Hindī. of which the opening lines are as follows, are specially noteworthy as serving to illustrate the tendency of average poets towards introducing original and creative ideas with flexible shifts :

¹ Badāunī, Vol. III, p. 66.

[Note the play on the Hindi word Rāja(راجا) and its ingenious fusion into the Persian compound(راجا) which may equally be read as(راجا) making it a Persian-Hindi compound with a welcome shift in meaning.

^۱ زاھد ز جام باده لعل تو مسٹ شد
دوے تو دید عاشق و آتش پرست شد

The devotee got intoxicated from the cup of
the wine of thy ruby (lip),
The lover saw thy face and became a fire-
worshipper.

^۲ وعدہ وصل تو اے ماہ بعید افتادہ است
وہ کہ ایں وعدہ چہ بسیار بعید افتادہ است

Thy promise of union, O moon, has fallen on
the 'Id,
Oh, on what a distant date this promise has
fallen !

He flourished in India under Bābur and Humāyūn,
and was among the literati of their courts. He
Muhammad was a student of natural science in
Ibn i Ashraf which he seemed to take great interest.
al Husainī ar His work entitled 'Jawāhir nāma i
Rustamdāri. *Humāyūni*',^۳ which he dedicated jointly
to the father and the son^۴ is a dissertation on the

^۱ Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol.
109b.

^۲ Ibid.

^۳ Or., 1717, B.M. MSS.

^۴ Cf. the statement:

چنیں گوید معمر ایں رسالہ... محمد ابن اشرف الصینی الرستمداری
... کہ درین اوقات کہ اعلیٰ حضرت ابوالغازی ظہورالدین محمد بابر
پادشاہ خدالله ملکہ... تمام ممالک ہندوستان را در تھٹ لوائے
عرش آسائے خود در آورد... مناسب بود بلکہ واجب خیال نمود
کہ رسالہ فاخرہ در باب جواہر مرتب ساختہ موشنغ بالقب سامی نامی
پادشاہ و پادشاہزادگان..... انہ -

(Ibid., foll. 3a—3b.)

use and formation of precious stones and other mineral. It is divided into 22 chapters as follows :

Preface	Foll. la—4b	A short discourse on the divisions of natural objects.
Chapter I	,, 4b—11a.	On ‘ <i>lūlū</i> ’ (pearl).
„ II	,, 11a—15b.	On ‘ <i>ya’qūt</i> ’ (saphire)
„ III	,, 15b—19a.	On ‘ <i>la ‘l</i> ’ (ruby)
„ IV	,, 19a—21b	On ‘ <i>zamurrad</i> ’ (emerald) and ‘ <i>zabarjad</i> ’ (topaz)
„ V	,, 21b—22b.	On ‘ <i>zabarjad</i> ’ (topaz)
„ VI	,, 22b—26b.	On ‘ <i>almās</i> ’ (diamond)
„ VII	,, 26b—27b.	On ‘ <i>ainul hur</i> (cat’s eye)
„ VIII	,, 27b—31b.	On ‘ <i>fīrūza</i> ’ (turquoise)
„ IX	,, 31b—42b.	On ‘ <i>pā-zahr</i> ’ ¹
„ X	,, 42b—43b.	On ‘ <i>aqīq</i> ’ (cornelian)
„ XI	,, 43b—45a.	On ‘other’ stones of the same family.
„ XII	,, 45a—45b.	On ‘ <i>Jaza</i> ’ (a kind of stone)
„ XIII	,, 45b—48b.	On ‘ <i>magnātīs</i> ’ (magnet)
„ XIV	,, 48b—49a.	On ‘ <i>sundbāda</i> ’ (a stone used for polishing metal)
„ XV	,, 49a—50a.	On ‘ <i>dahāna</i> ’ (a mineral)
„ XVI	,, 50a—53a.	On ‘ <i>lājward</i> ’ (lapiz lazuli)
„ XVII	,, 53a—55b.	On ‘ <i>busud wa marjān</i> ’ (corals and pearls)
„ XVIII	,, 55b—57b.	On ‘ <i>yashab</i> ’ (jasper)
„ XIX	,, 57b—58b.	On ‘ <i>billūr</i> ’ (crystal)
„ XX	,, 58b—59a.	On ‘ <i>kān</i> ’ (mine)
„ XXI	,, 59a—69a.	On miscellaneous kinds of stones
„ XXII	,, 69a—77b.	On metals

¹ A charmed stone said to be found in the head of serpents
and is reputed as an antidote for all kinds of poison.

It was undertaken in the reign of Bābur sometime after his conquest of Hindūstān,¹ and finished under the patronage of Humāyūn and presented to him.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and Persian. He came to Āgra from Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandi² Samarqand and was given a place among the elite of the court. Bādāūnī's remark about his scholarship is as follows :

مولانا نادری سمرقندی از نوا در وزگار و فاضل
جامع کامل بود -

Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandi was among the rarities of the age, and was a highly learned and accomplished scholar.

As a poet of Persian language he built up a reputation and wrote all kinds of poetry including 'ghazal' 'rubā'i and 'qasida.' A specimen of each is given below :

Ghazal :

وَجْهَ خِرَامَ اسْتَ قَدْ يَارَ رَا
بَنْدَه شُومَ آئَ قَدْ وَ رَفَتَارَ رَا
يَارَ سَوَّ مَا بَهْ تَرَحَمَ نَدِيدَ
دَاشَتْ مَگَرْ جَانَبَ اغِيَارَ رَا
سَوَّ خَرَابَاتَ گَذَرَ نَادَرِي
دَرَ سَرَ مَيْ كَنَ سَرَوَ دَسْتَارَ رَا

¹ *Vide Supra*, p. fn. 2.

² Bādāūnī, Vol. I, p. 472.

³ *Ibid.*

How charming is the gait and the form of
the beloved,
I would become a slave to that form and gait ;
The beloved did not look on us with pity,
Perhaps he cherished a regard for the rivals ;
Go towards the tavern O Nādirī !
Yield your head and turban to the thought of
wine.

His composition was not without subtleties which had been largely introduced in India under the patronage of the Mughal court. The following verse which he composed in praise of one Nizām, with whom he is said to have been in love, is illustrative of the popular taste and the atmospheric tendencies in the art of composition :

من دل شکسته گویم صفت نظام نامی
که نداشت بیوصاںش دل ناقوان نظامی

I the broken-hearted utter the praise of the
one named Nizām,
For my weak heart did not keep order (*nizām*)
without union with him.

سر کویت کہ عمری بودم آنجا
بعر خون کجا اسودم آنجا

¹ Ibid., p. 472.

² Ibid., p. 473.

NOTE.—The second hemistich of the first line may also be translated as 'I swear by my life when did I get rest there'?

بِقَصْدِ سَجَدَةٍ هُرْ جَا سِرْ نَهَادِم
 تو بُودِي كَعْبَةٌ مَقْصُودَمْ آنْجَا^۱
 جَهَانِي مَحْرُومْ وَ مَنْ مَانَدَهُ مَحْرُومْ
 هَمَّةٌ مَقْبُولَهُ وَ مَنْ مَرْدُومَ آنْجَا^۲
 جَهَ پَرْسِي نَادِري چَوْنِي دَرَانْ كَوْ
 گَهَ نَاخُوشَ گَهَ خَوْشَ بُودَمْ آنْجَا

At the top of thy lane where I have lived a lifetime,
 When did I get rest in my whole life ?
 With the intent of prostration where'er I laid my head,
 Thou wast the Ka'ba of my object there ;
 What dost thou ask, 'O Nādirī, how farest thee in that lane ?'
 Sometimes unhappy and sometimes happy was I there.

Rubā'i

رَنجُودِمْ وَ دَرَ دَلْ ازْ تو دَارِمْ صَدْ غَمْ^۱
 بَے لَعْلَ لَبَتْ حَرِيفَ دَرَ دَمْ هَمَّهَ دَمْ
 زَيْنَ عَمَرْ مَلَوْلَمْ مَنْ مَسْكِينْ غَرِيبَ
 خَواهَمْ شَوَدْ أَرَامْ گَهَمْ كَوَعَدْ

Grief-stricken I am, and I possess in my heart a hundred sorrows from thee,
 Without the ruby of thy lip I am faced with anguish all the moments ;

^۱ Ibid., p. 472.

In this life am melancholy, I, the humble
and the indigent,
My place of rest shall be the lane of annihi-
lation.

One of his 'qasā'id,' in which he delineated on Humāyūn's taste for Mathematics and his prepossessions for science, is as follows. It is as well illustrative of the general style and the standard obtained in the art of 'qasīda' writing :

الستة لله كه بجمعیت خاطر
با عیش نشستند حریفان معاصر
گلزار تماشا گه خلق است که آنها
در حضرت گل بلبل غایب شده حاضر
عربان ذ خزان بود مگر شاعد بستان
کن خرقه صد پاره گل دوخته ساتر
یکجاست گل و یاسمن و سنبل و ریحان
سلطان بهار آمده باخیل و عساکر
مرغان صفت شاه فلك مرتبه خوانان
بر شانخ درختان چو خطیبان منابر
خاقان معظم شه جم قدر همایون
کش هست قوي دست دل از قدرت قادر
از دانش او دانش اصحاب بصیرت
وزبینش او بینش ارباب بصایر
منه چو حرام است در احکام شریعت

¹ Ibid. p. 473.

اقبال نماید بمراعات اوامه
 جمع آمدہ بہر ظفر لشکر اسلام
 آحاد سپاہش ز دلیران عسا کر
 زیر علم فتح بمیدان سعادت
 بادش کرم لم یزی حافظ و ناصر
 اے تا کف جود تو قوام همه اشیا
 قایم بدم قیع تو اعراض و جواهر
 در روز ازل بود خداوند جهان را
 مقصود وجود تو ازین چنبر دایر
 جبریل اگر بار دگر وحی بیارد
 در شارن تو ظاهر شود آیات ظواهر
 هر ذکنئ حکمت که لب لعل تو فرمود
 مشهور جهان شد جو حدیث متواتر
 مهمی است که شرح کتب فن ریاضی است
 تصنیف متین تو ز ایجاد دوایر
 کس دانش بسیار ترا چوں کند انکار
 انکار دلیلی فکند غیر مکابر
 احصاء کمالات تو کردن نتوانم
 کاندر همه فنها شده کامل و ماعت
 با عقل حکیمانه و اقبال تو دارد
 نفس ملکی نسبت اجناس مشاهر
 حود تو بنوعیست که در ساعت بلکشن
 نا خواسته دانی همه حاجات ضمایر

He died in 966 A. H., and the following chronogram was written by Mr. Amānī Kābli:

وَ حَسْرَتَا كَهْ نَادِرِيْ نَكْتَهْ دَانِ نَمَانِد
آنِ نَادِرِيْ كَهْ دَادِ سَخْنَ دَادِ رَجَهَانِ
جَسْتَمِ بُرْسَمِ تَعْمِيَةْ تَارِيْخِ فَوْتِ اوْ
گَفْتَا خَرَدِ كَهْ رَفَتِ يَكَهْ اَزِ سَخْنَوْ اَنِ

He was appointed by Humāyūn as tutor to the young prince Akbar at Cābul, after Mullā Pir Muhammad.¹ On Humāyūn's second Mir 'Abdul entry into Hindūstān he was invited Latif Qazwīnī by the latter to come to Āgra, and on his arrival in 963 A.H., just after Humāyūn's death, was received by Akbar with marks of greatest favour and kindness.² His father Qāzī Yahyā was well-read in history and enjoyed the fame of a historian in his lifetime. He is said to have known by heart the various Muslim dynasties that ruled in Central Asia, Turkey, and Hindūstān. Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, eulogises his wonderful memory and historical insight in the following complimentary verse :

قصَّهْ تَارِيْخِ اَذَوْ بَايدِ شَنِيد
کَسِ درِیں تَارِيْخِ مَثَلِ اوْ نَدِيد

¹ Ibid., p. 475.

² Farishta, Vol. I, p. 466.

³ Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 19.

⁴ Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 97.

The tale of history ought to be heard from
him,
None in the present day has seen any one
like him.

Mir 'Abdul Latif himself, like his father, was deeply interested in history, and it was probably due to his command of the subject that he received his appointment as tutor to the young prince. It is noteworthy that his younger brother Mir 'Alā'ud-daula Qazwīnī, who was trained and brought up under the fostering care of his elder brother, was equally a fine historian, and wrote the famous work '*Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*' from which both Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have derived their material for the literary phase of Humāyūn's reign.

He was a student of Mathematics and Astronomy, and was unrivalled in his day for his knowledge in those two branches of science. He Maulānā Ilyās acted as tutor to Humāyūn, and taught him lessons on Astronomy. It was due mostly to the training received under him that Humāyūn subsequently developed a considerable taste for that science. Badāūnī tells us that he was proficient in the subject and thoroughly capable of erecting an Observatory.¹ Once when he happened to visit Ardabil in the latter part of his life, he wrote a letter to Shāh Isma'il II (whom Shāh Tahmāsp

¹ Cf. the statement :

مولانا ایلیس... کہ استاد ہمایوں پادشاہ، یاقوت، استعداد
صد بندی داشت انہیں

[Ibid., p. 131.]

had in his lifetime imprisoned in the fort of 'Qahqaha'), saying that from the confluence of stars it transpires that he (Shāh Isma'il II) would succeed to the throne and that his other opponents would soon be vanquished. In that letter he also directed Shāh Isma'il to visit him at Ardabil on his release from the prison so that he might put him under the right stars which would lead to his future glory and uninterrupted retention of power. But the latter, while passing Ardabil in procession, on being released by his party in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of his arch-rival Haidar Mirzā, forgot to see the Maulānā, and having gone some distance subsequently recollect ed the prediction and suddenly turned back and called at the Maulānā's house. The Maulānā locked the door from inside but the Shāh managed to get in by climbing over the wall. Thereupon the Maulānā covered his face and refused to see him saying that the hour appointed was gone and the opportunity lost, since the planets had just moved from their position. The Shāh then was obliged to leave, and though proclaimed king at Qazwin, yet strange to say that after a year's successful reign, he met his tragic death in a confectioner's house in 985 A.H. It was surmised that he was poisoned at night when under the intoxication of opium, in consequence of the cruelties which he had inflicted on his house and the court.¹

¹ Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 517, London, 1815.

scholar and a favourite scholar and a favourite scholar and a favourite scholar and a favourite
she was a distinguished scholar and a distinguished scholar and a distinguished scholar and a distinguished
after he wrote All kind
of Humayun. As the letter he wrote All kind after he wrote All kind after he wrote All kind
and compiled a separate of poetry, and compiled a separate of poetry, and compiled a separate of poetry,
king of 'qasidah', consisting of 'qasidah', consisting of 'qasidah', consisting of 'qasidah', consisting
in Kahl. He, standga in Kahl. He, standga in Kahl. He, standga in Kahl.
sets in easiness of style, in easiness of style, in easiness of style, in easiness of style,
contrast with his fellow-poets, in contrast with his fellow-poets, in contrast with his fellow-poets,
language. The style contrast with language. The style contrast with language. The style
use or simple and plain language. The style and plain language. The style and plain
approached by any use of simple and plain language. The style and plain
in his poetry is hardly approached by any use of simple and plain language. The style and plain
He composed sayings of his contemporaries. He composed sayings of his contemporaries. He composed sayings
of his contemporaries. He composed sayings of his contemporaries. He composed sayings
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and qutub in praise of Humayun in praise of Humayun in praise of Humayun in
which he wrote a chronograph which he wrote on qutub and qutub in
bying chronograph following chronograph which he wrote on
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finest ever written : the finest ever written : the finest ever written : the

scholar and a favourite scholar and a favourite scholar and a favourite scholar and a favourite
she was a distinguished scholar and a distinguished scholar and a distinguished scholar and a distinguished
after he wrote All kind
of Humayun. As the letter he wrote All kind after he wrote All kind after he wrote All kind
and compiled a separate of poetry, and compiled a separate of poetry, and compiled a separate of poetry,
king of 'qasidah', consisting of 'qasidah', consisting of 'qasidah', consisting of 'qasidah', consisting
in Kahl. He, standga in Kahl. He, standga in Kahl. He, standga in Kahl.
sets in easiness of style, in easiness of style, in easiness of style, in easiness of style,
contrast with his fellow-poets, in contrast with his fellow-poets, in contrast with his fellow-poets,
language. The style contrast with language. The style contrast with language. The style
use or simple and plain language. The style and plain language. The style and plain
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and qutub in praise of Humayun in praise of Humayun in praise of Humayun in
which he wrote a chronograph which he wrote on qutub and qutub in
bying chronograph following chronograph which he wrote on
peror's death is reproduced by Jauhar is reproduced by Jauhar is reproduced by Jauhar is reproduced
finest ever written : the finest ever written : the finest ever written : the

شامل و ملکیت شفیعی خانه و عالمگیری شفیعی شامل و عالمگیری
شامل و عالمگیری شفیعی شامل و عالمگیری شفیعی شامل و عالمگیری
شامل و عالمگیری شفیعی شامل و عالمگیری شفیعی شامل و عالمگیری

are as follows : The other two are as follows : The other two are as follows : The other two are as follows :

Figure 10. The effect of the number of hidden neurons on the performance of the proposed model. The number of hidden neurons is varied from 1 to 100. The results show that the performance of the proposed model is not significantly affected by the number of hidden neurons.

جو خورشیدے جهان قاب از بلندی

بپایان در نماز شام افتاده
جهان تاریک شد در چشم مردم
خلل در کار خاص و عام افتاده
پی تاریخ او کاهی رقم زد
”همایون پادشاه از بام افتاد“

Humāyūn, the king, is that sun,
Whose all-embracing bounty fell common to
all;
The structure of his power, when it attained
its height,
The foundation of his life fell from its base;
Like the world-illuminating sun from its
height,
Down below at the time of evening prayer he
fell;
The world became dark in the eyes of the
people,
On the work of the high and the low confu-
sion fell;

For the date thereof Kāhī wrote,
Humāyūn, the king, from the terrace fell.

Of all the chronograms composed by other poets,
this is decidedly the most natural and stands
unbeaten in the simplicity of style, accuracy of
detail, and beauty of language. Another equally
simple and suggestive chronogram which he wrote

on Kāmrān's death, which took place at Mecca, is as follows :

۱ کامران آنکه پادشاهی را
کس نبود سست همچو او در خورد
شد ز کابل به کعبه و آنجا
جان بحق داد و تن بخاک سپرده
گفت تاریخ او چنیں کاهی
پادشاه کامران به کعبه مرد

Kāmrān was such that for the place of king,
There was none so worthy as he;
He went from Cābul to Ka'ba, and there,
Entrusted the soul to the True One, and the
body to the earth;

Kāhī wrote the chronogram thus :
'The king Kāmrān died in Ka'ba.'

Abul Fazl calls him Miyān Kālē and counts him among the foremost poets of Akbar's court. Badāūnī, too, though points out his certain faults as a poet, thinks him unrivalled in his day in the essential features of poetry and in the composition of chronograms. He had also associated for some time with Jāmī at Herāt, and acquired there a competent knowledge of the commentary of the Qur'ān and mysticism. In the company of Kāmrān he had gone to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage. For all this Badāūnī thinks him an atheist and finds him guilty

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.

of gross religious and moral offences.¹ It is amusing, however, to note that his composed poems were universally popular and sung even in Badāūnī's time in the assemblies of the Sūfis.² The opening lines of some of his odes are as follows. They are unsurpassed in poetic grace and are to be classed among the best productions:

بِه ناز کشت جهانی بت ستمگر من³
 هنوز بر سر ناز است ناز پهور من
 My relentless love has slain a whole world
 with his daintiness,
 Still he, the cherisher of my temper, is
 carrying on his amorous playfulness.
 نه نرگس است عیان بر سر مزار مرا⁴
 سفید شد بر هت چشم انتظار مرا

¹ NOTE.—Badāūnī's displeasure is probably due to the poet's acceptance of Akbar's heresies, for Abul Fazl calls him a disciple of the emperor, and also hints at his free and unorthodox life. Cf.—

از مشرب فراغی پر اگندۀ چند گرد او فواهم بودی د با چندی و دارستی
 خویش پرده آرامی گیتی خداوند خوشتن را از مریدان بر شورده—
 [Ā'in i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 244.]

² Cf. the statement:
 د این هر دو غزل را صوفی خوب بسته که در عالم شهره یافته در
 مجالس میخوانند و بنم ملوک و اهل سلک بدان آرایش می یابد—
 [Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.]

³ Ibid. Vol. III, p. 174.
 NOTE.—Love is often treated by Persian poets as an ideal and then is referred to in masculine terms, in the same way as Cupid is treated in English poetry.

⁴ Ibid.

It is not the narcissus that has displayed
itself over my grave,
It is my vigilant eye that has in the long
expectation of thee turned white.

^۱ مرغ تابه فرق مجنون پر زدن انگیز کرد
آتش سوداے لیلی دسر او تیز کرد

The bird since it has started flapping its
wings over Majnūn's head,
It has kindled the fire of his love for Lailā
ever more.

^۲ چوں ز عکس عارضش آئینہ پر گل شود
گردان آئینہ طوطی بنگرد ببلبل شود

Since from the reflection of his cheek the
mirror becomes full of flower,
If therefore a parrot look into that mirror,
she would become a nightingale.

^۳ ریخت باران بلا برتن غم پرور ما
چه بلاها که نیاوره فلك بر سر ما

The rain of distress poured on my grief-worn
body,
What calamities did the sky not bring down
on my head !

^۱ Ibid.

^۲ Ibid.

^۳ Ibid.

The following, which is full of romantic similes and metaphors, is in praise of a handsome Yogi youth:

آتشیں رویت ز خاکستر چو نیلوڑ، شدہ
یا نقاب ار آتش رمے تو خاکستر شدہ

Thy fiery face has become like a lotus through
the ashes smeared on thy face,
Or the veil through the fire of thy face got
burnt into ashes.

In a long '*qasida*'¹ he dwelt on Humāyūn's taste for Astronomy and the uses of certain instruments like the 'astrolabe,' and 'compass' etc., which Humāyūn had collected for his contemplated observatory.

¹ Ibid.

NOTE —It is still the custom of a Hindū Yogi to go about with his face smeared with dust, or ashes.

It may also be observed that the similes employed here are drawn purely from Indian life and surroundings, and the verse is in every aspect Indian in its conception with the creative genius of a poet playing its part under favourable and encouraging circumstances.

This is the second notable instance to come across after Nādirī's *qasida* where the genius of a poet took a scientific turn and was spent in describing apparatuses instead of the usual praises of the court. This was done evidently to arrest Humayūn's attention and to commend their poetry to his notice. They knew that to gain his full appreciation of their verses it was necessary to compose them according to the royal taste. This shows the extent of the influence that the individual taste of a Mughal sovereign in India could exercise over the literati of his court, as also his power to direct and mould the popular taste of the country as a whole.

He was a poet of great gifts and composed several pieces extempore in his wonted strain. Once during his illness when Khwāja Mu'azzam Khān, a noble of Khairābād, went, in spite of pain in his foot, to see him, he recited offhand a 'ghazal' welcoming the Khwāja, to the latter's great astonishment. It ran thus :

مادلی قدم زناز بروے نیاز من^۱
دردے مباد پاے ترا سرو ناز من
چند وصف وصل تو کردم شب فراق
کوئہ نگشت قصہ درد دراز من

Thou hast stepped daintily over my needy
face,
May there be no pain to thy foot, O my tender
cypress ;
However much I uttered the praises of thy
union on the night of separation,
My lengthy tale of sorrow did not come to a
finish.

He also wrote a 'masnawi' entitled 'gul afshān' as a reply to Sa'dī's Būstān, and compiled a 'dīwān' consisting of 'ghazal,' 'masnawi,' 'ruba'i,' and 'qasīda.'

Before his coming to India, he had the usual prejudice which is of interest to note in his following composition :

¹ Ibid., p. 175.

چون سایه میر عیم بھر سو دوان شوی^۱
 باشد که رفتہ رفتہ بما مہر بان شوی
 اے پیر عشق صحبت یوسف (خی طلب
 نبود عجب کہ ھیچو زلیخا جوان شوی
 کاعی تو بلبل چمن آرائے کابلی
 زاغ، زغن نئے کہ بہ هندوستان شوی

Like a shadow we accompany thee wherever
 thou shouldst go,
 May be that by degrees thou shouldst become
 kind to us;
 O sage of love, seek the society of one like
 Joseph,
 It is not strange that like Zulaikhā thou
 shouldst become young;
 O, Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which
 adorns the garden of Cābul,
 Thou art not a *crow* and a *kite* to go to
 Hindūstān.

Soon after his arrival in India, there was a marked change in his tone which was gradually softened into the praises for the court and its literati.

He ranked among the foremost poets of Bādakshān, and entered Humāyūn's service when the latter conquered that province. In Maulānā Junūbī. commemoration of this victory he composed the following chronogram and presented it to the emperor :

¹ Ibid., p. 173.

توئي شاه شاعان دوران که شد
 هميشه ترا کار فتح و ظفر
 گرفتني بدخشان و قاريح شد
 محمد همایون شاه بکروبر

Thou art the king of kings of the age,
 Thy work ever ended in victory and triumph ;
 Thou didst seize Badakhshān, and the date
 was found in,
 “ Muhammad Humāyūn is the king of land
 and sea.”

He also wrote several ‘qasā’id’ in praise of his master in the metre and style of Nizāmī, and Anwari. The one quoted by Bādāūnī, as being most famous and widely read, runs thus :

شنهشاها خ تو لاله و نسرپیں لب تو جان
 همین بینم لب تو غنچہ رنگین شده خندان
 نسی گوید خط تو سبزه و بیکان خد تو گل
 شود ظاهر قد تو فتنہ دوران دم جولان

O emperor, thy face is tulip and wild rose,
 and thy lip is life,
 I see thy lip a bud of resplendent hue that
 has just begun to smile ;
 I say not the *down* on thy cheek verdure and
 hyacinth, nor thy cheek a rose,

¹ Ibid., p. 470.

² Ibid., p. 469.

Thy form shall prove to be '*the turmoil of the age*' when thou dost move.

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at the artful devices, which is a striking feature of the later Mughal age, is also visible in his writings. In a 'masnawi' which he composed in eulogy of his master he made use of all such subtleties to the discomfiture of his contemporaries. From its very first line quoted below, the drift and character of the whole poem can be gauged :

شہنشاہ دین پادشاہ زمان^۱
ز بخت همایوں شدہ کامران

^۱ Ibid.

Note the artistic use of the word 'humāyūn' with 'kāmrān' in their both concrete and adjectival senses. This is a typical example of the usual attempts at the Indian courts to exhaust two or more figures of speech in one phrase. The prominent figures in the above are [Equivocation and Homogeneity.] The great incentive to this sort of production is to be found in the applausive support of the Mughal kings who encouraged its growth in India as a piece of literary skill. But it must not be understood that this hobby was exclusively Indian. It was in fact Persian, but developed in India under more favourable circumstances. Cf. a similar instance of play on the word 'mahmūd' (name of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī) at the Persian court of Shāh 'Abbās—the Great, from Zulālī's masnawī entitled 'Mahmūd wa Ayāz' beginning :

بنام آنکه مصمردش ایاز است * غمش بتقانه ناز و نیاز است
[B.M. MSS.] الی عاتیت مصمرد بادد Also cf. the finishing line :
Or. 350] For further illustrations *vide supra*, p. F. N. 3.

The emperor of religion and the king of the
age,

Became victorious through auspicious fortune.

His other poems including 'rubā'iyyāt' and 'qasā'id' are to be found in the biographies of Persian poets. Some selections have been given by Badāūnī and Abul Fazl. The following from the latter is reproduced as a clever composition in praise of Akbar, inducing him to bestow on the poet yet another elephant loaded with gold :

تا بفیلان میل دیدم دلستان خویش را^۱
 صرف راه فیل کردم نقد جان خویش را
 خاک برسر میکنم چون فیل هر جا میرسم
 گر نه بینم بر سر خود فیلیان خویش را
 شاه فیل افگن جلال الدین محمد اکبر است
 آنکه باخشند فیل زرین شاعران خویش را

Since I noticed the attention of my heart-
ravisher towards elephants,
I spent in the path of the elephants the cash
of my life ;
I throw dust over my head like an elephant
wherever I go,

¹ Ā'in i Akbarī Vol. I, p. 244.

The above poem is a very good example of the Persian figure of speech known as حسن طلب, wherein the channels of thought and metaphor are suggested purely from the luxuries of an Indian court.

[CHAPTER IV] [CHAPTER V] [CHAPTER VI] [CHAPTER VII]

my helpful my selffinden my helpful my selffinden my helpful my selffinden
 driver; driver; driver;
 my king Thethatdattadarer king Thethatdattadarer king Thethatdattadarer
 Muhammad Akbar, Muhammad Akbar, Muhammad Akbar,
 s poets Vlophastevoade his poets Vlophastevoade his poets Vlophastevoade
 with gold. with gold. with gold.

knowledge combined they know the combined they know knowledge combined they know
 Peter von filled the daterh Peter von filled the daterh Peter von filled the daterh
 -wanting, -wanting, -wanting, -wanting, -wanting, -wanting, -wanting, -wanting
 Dasturbadi, and Nizamri Dasturbadi, and Nizamri Dasturbadi, and Nizamri
 (dehumalay) service to the humalay) service to the humalay) service to the
 third pines of the storey, (and pines of the storey, that pines of the storey,
 the following (composed by the wind 'composed by the following 'composed by the
 metre of Anwari: metre of Anwari: metre of Anwari:

شلائق ملعمه هر آید + شلائق ملعمه هر آید + شلائق ملعمه هر آید +
 خروره، خرگلاغ خلخعله در اخه، خرگلاغ خلخعله در اخه، خرگلاغ خلخعله در اخه،
 کوکتارکوکه سر بیان، سی کوکتارکوکه سر بیان، سی کوکتارکوکه سر بیان، سی
 اش ابر بیلکنیده ایالاصیه اش ابر بیلکنیده ایالاصیه اش ابر بیلکنیده ایالاصیه

gin who the enters of the eight who the enters of the eight who the enters of the
 Ram, chamber of the Ram, chamber of the Ram, chamber of the Ram,
 the the Tardulamightsil the the Thedulamightsil the the Tardulamightsil
 torch; narcissus the torch; narcissus the torch; narcissus the torch
 the relied muth the relied muth the relied muth the relied muth the
 ery of December and January of December and January of December and Janu-

The spring cloud washes the sandal powder
from off its face.

Some of his 'qasāid' are most remarkable, and are composed in close imitation of those of the leading Persian poets like Salmān, Zahīr, Anwārī, and Khāqānī. A few, of which the opening lines are quoted below, are specially noteworthy :

۱ در غم آباد جهان عیش از دل ناشاد رفت
خوبه غم کردیم چندانی که عیش از باد رفت

In the grief-inhabited world, life's joy left the
unhappy heart,
So much to grief were we given that life's
joy was forgotten.

۲ ما ب مجرم عشق بد نامیم و زاهد از ریا
هر دو بد نامیم اما ما کجاء او کجا

We are notorious for our guilt of love, and the
devotee for his hypocrisy,
Both are notorious, but see the difference
between him and ourselves.

۳ بیرون میبا که شهره ایام میشوی
ما کشته میشویم تو بدل دام میشوی

^۱ Ibid., p. 487.

^۲ Ibid.

^۳ Ibid.

Don't come out, for thy fame will spread,
We shall be killed and thou wilt be slandered.

^۱ هر آنکس کہ برا کام گیتی نہد دل
بندیک اهل خرد نیست عاقل

He who fixes his heart on the object of the
world,
Is not wise before the men of wisdom.

^۲ باز و قتسن کہ برو طبق تقاضاے فلک
افگند برو سر ایوان جمن گل تو شک

Again 'Tis time, through the sky's demands,
That the rose spread a carpet before the
palace-garden's gate.

He is called '*Dakhani*' because he had devoted himself in his later years entirely to Deccan, and rose to considerable influence and fortune there. He originally belonged to 'Irāq wherefrom he came to Āgra and stayed there for some time in the beginning. Since he was an orthodox Shi'a and a zealous advocate of his religion, he often discussed with the Sunnī court religious questions which eventually led to a friction between himself and his Sunnī associates. He called himself a relation of Shāh Tahmāsp, and might be that he was purposely sent to Humāyūn's court by the Shāh to convert the emperor into Shi'a. From Āgra he went to his

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., p. 484.

elder brother Shāh Ja'far in Deccan and took service under Burhān Nizām Shāh I, ruler of Ahmadnagar, who soon raised him to the rank of Deputy (*Vakil*). He is an epoch-making personage and opens a new chapter in the history of the Deccan by introducing the Shī'a faith in that country and converting the Shāh into a zealous Shī'a. Badāūnī relates the incident which led to the conversion of the Shāh as follows :

و نظام شاه بکری را که بیماری می‌من لاعلاج داشت
بطفیل فسون خوانی شاه جعفر صحتی روی داد و این
معنی دا..... حمل بر کرامات شاه جعفر نموده باگوای
او از مذهب سنت و جماعت که بطريق مهدویة داشت
بر آمده مترفض غالی شد

¹ Ibid., p. 483.

NOTE. A doubt is expressed by Professor Browne, in his recent work 'Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924.' p. 169, fn. 3, as to the correctness of the epithet '*Bahri*' with which the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar were known. Cf.—

"I doubt if '*Bahri*' is a correct reading : it should perhaps be '*Burhān*', the proper name of the second of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar who reigned, etc."

As to its correctness as a title or surname of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar, there is not the least doubt. The historian Farishtā who, on his arrival in India, had at first settled at Ahmadnagar, due to his father's appointment as tutor to Murtuza Nizām Shāh, says that Nizāmul Mulk I, (whose real name, on his conversion to Islām, had been changed from Malik Nā'ib to Malik Hasan) was for a time called '*Bahar lū*' after the name of his Brahman father

And to Nizām Shāh Bahri, who had a chronic and incurable disease, through Shāh Ja'far's recitation of charm, relief appeared. And having attributed this to Shāh Ja'far's supernatural powers, the king, through his instigation, renounced the Sunnī faith which he had on the manner of Mahdiwi sect, and became a zealous bigot.

He died in 952 A.H., and the date was found in the ingenious phrase ﴿وَنَابَعَ أَعْلَى بَيْسِ﴾, and he was the follower of the house of 'Ali. He was an excellent poet, and is the author of several poetical works consisting mostly of 'masnawī' and 'qasā'id' in praise of Humāyūn and Nizām Shāh Bahri.

He came to Āgra from Shirāz and took his role as one of Humāyūn's court poets. He had a Sūfistic turn of mind and lived a simple and unostentatious life. Badāūnī testifies to his fame as a poet and his tendency to Sūfism. He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry

'Bahar.' This appellation was changed by Sultān Muham-mad Shāh into 'Bahrī' with which the dynasty became subsequently known in the Deccan. The Sultān had also entrusted to his care his favourite hawk together with other hunting animals due to the suggestivity of the word 'Bahri' (a hawk or a falcon). Cf. the statement:

سلطان محمد شاه در اوان ملکی چون لفظ بهار را تحریف کرده
ملک حسن بصری میگفت هر آینه بین المفاصل و العالام به بصری ملقب
گشید..... بصری خاصه خود را دریافت جميع چانوران شکاری
بواسطه منابع لفظی حواله ملک حسن بصری نمود -

[Farishta, Vol. II, p. 534.]

was full of pathos and the pang of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly 'ghazal' on separation from his ideal beloved and in complaint of the latter's inattentions. Some specimens are as follows:

از بس که آن جفا جو آزار مینماید^۱
اندک ترحم او بسیار مینماید

Since great is the torture that that tyrant
shows,
A little mercy from him appears as much.

بحمد الله كه وار ستم ز عشق مست بد خوي^۲
كه مي افتاد چون چشم خود از مستي بهر کوي
جو ساغر از براي جرعة لب بر لب هر کس
صراحي دار بهر ساغري مائل بهر سوي

God be praised that I was freed from the
love of a quarrelsome drunkard,
Who fell into every street like his own
intoxicated eye ;
Like a wine-cup for a draught of wine, he
put his lip to the lip of every one,
Like a jug of wine, for a cup of wine, he was
going in every direction.

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 475.

² Ibid.

عمری که دل بوصل توان بهره مند بود
 ننمود آنقدر که توان گفت چند بود
 القصه در فراق بسی شد شمار عمر
 سرمایه وصال که داند که چند بود
 اغیار دوش پیش تو بودند و فارغی
 از دورها بر آتش حرمان سپند بود

It is long time since my heart had the boon
 of union with thee,
 It was so short that it was as if it were not.
 In short, the days of life were spent in
 separation,
 The wealth of union who knew how great it
 was ?
 The rivals, last night, were before thee, and
 Fārighi,
 From afar was like a rue on the fire of des-
 pair.

رسته جمیعت اے یاران همدم مگسلید^۲
 در پریشانی پریشانیست از هم مگسلید

The string of union do not break, O companions
 of breath,
 In scattering there is distress, do not break
 away from each other.

^۱ Ibid., p. 476.

^۲ Ibid.

چو تیز خودکشی از سینه‌ام بگذار، پیکان را
مرا دل ده که تا مردانه در، اهت دهم جان را

When thou drawest the arrow from my chest,
leave the arrow-head,
Give me heart so that like a brave man I may
give my life in thy path.

He breathed his last in 940A.H., at Āgra, and was buried by the side of his late friend Shaikh Zainuddin whose death had occurred just a few months before him.¹

He lived at the Mughal court as personal physician to Bābur and Humāyūn, and also as chief Yūsuf bin i Munshī to the latter. He is the author Muham mād of several works of diverse utility and Hirwāl. nature including poetical, medicinal, and epistolary. In poetry he wrote chiefly 'qasīda' on subjects connected with public health and hygiene, under the pen-name 'Yūsufī.' Some of his works are the following :

¹ Ibid.

² This is to be noted that both these poets on their arrival in India were in a very miserable condition. Shaikh Abul Wājid who came from Shīrāz had nothing with him besides one old fur coat on his body, and so did the other. Cf. the statement :

زماني که هر دریزگوار متوجه هند بودند از چالشی مفرط غير از کهنه پرسنی
باخرد نداشتند

[Ibid., p. 477.] From this extreme poverty they rose to fortune under the Mughal patronage. Shaikh Zainuddin was appointed as 'Sadr' by Bābur and Abul Wājid occupied a seat among the court poets of Humāyūn.

- I. *Riyāz ul Inshā*¹: a treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions, undertaken in 946 A.H., and on finish dedicated to Humāyūn.
- II. *Jāmi'ul Fawa'id*²: a work on general medicine treating of their uses, benefits, and injuries, with certain guiding rules.
- III. *Qāsida fi hifz i Sihat*: a poem on the main principles of hygiene, dedicated to Bābur in 937 A. H., when he was not keeping good health.
- IV. *Badā'i'ul Inshā*: a treatise on the art of literary composition, giving proper titles and forms of addresses in accordance with the rank and profession of the addressee. It was written in 940 A. H.,³ for the benefit of his own son, Rafi'uddin Husain, as well as other youths in general. It has been lithographed at Lāhore, Delhi, and Lucknow.

¹ Add. 17955, B.M. MSS., foll. 79b, and 174a.

² Add. 23, 560, B.M. MSS. foll. 262a—264b.

NOTE.—This is only an extract from the preceding work.

³ The date of its composition is obtained by doubling the total of the numerical value of the letters of its title, as hinted by the author in the following verse :

مکار تی چونام ادرا یکبار * هک نیست که رہ بی بال اتمام
 [Thus ۴۷۰=۴۷۰, which on being doubled ($470 \times 2 = 940$) gives the date of its composition.]

He was the son of the famous scholar and poet of Bābur's time Khwāja Abul Barakāt (still alive Ayyūb. father and the son both were capable poets and wrote all kinds of poetry including 'ghazal' 'masnawī,' 'rubā'i,' and 'qasīda.' The father used 'Farāqī' as his pen-name. The following 'qasīda' which he wrote after the manner and style of Salmān Sāwajī is one of his worthiest productions :

تپ فم دارم و درد سر هجران بر سر
آمدہ جان بلب و نامدہ جانان بر سر
قا گرفت آتش دل د، تن من چوں خانوس
دامن چاک شد و چاک گریبان بر سر

The fever of grief and the headache of separation have I : ov'r head,
To the lip has come life, and the loved hath not come : ov'r head ;
Since the fire of the heart caught light in my body like a candle-lamp,
My skirt was torn, and the rent of the collar appeared : ov'r head.

He combined with the sober poetic vein a considerable amount of humour and also wrote satires, for which he had a pungent gift, on eminent theologians in a graceful and felicitous style. Some of

¹ Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 488.

his verses from a pleasantly humorous poem written as a satire upon the Qāzi of Nishāpūr are reproduced below :

¹خلاف شرع پیغمبر نوشت فقه دگر
که هیچ زان نبود در کتابها مسطور
غسل حرام نوشت و شراب کرد حلال
که این عصارة تا کست و آن قئی زنیور
(زی که شکوه شوهر به پیش قاضی برد
که حظ نفس من ازوی نمیرسد بظهور
جواب داد که گر اوقوی ضعیف شد است
دوا بود که در آرد بجاجی خود مزدور

Against the law of the Prophet, he wrote
another law,
Of which naught is found writ in the early
books;
Honey he forbade, and wine he permitted,
Since one was the grape's juice, the other
the bee's vomit;
To a woman who 'fore the Qāzi of her
husband complained,
That he did not give to her joy complete;
He replied, "If his strength is so weak,
'Tis allowed in his place a coolie to seek,"

¹ Ibid.

Farishta pays him a high tribute of praise and declares that he came to Deccan after Humāyūn's death.¹

His son Khwāja Ayyūb, in his poetical composition sometimes uses 'Ayyūb' and sometimes 'Farāqī' (the pen-name of his father) as his *nom de guerre*. A specimen of his ode is as follows :

۱- شاخ گل که همچو سبی قد کشیده^۲
 بز گرد لب خطے ز زمره کشیده
 قدت برآمده چو الف مدظله
 دو ابروان فراز الف مد کشیده
 بز حرف دیگران زه قرعه قبول
 بز حرف عاشقان قلم ره کشیده
 از دولت وصال فراقی طمع میتو
 جور و جفای یار چو بیحد کشیده

O branch of the rose, thou art drawn straight
 like an erect stature,

¹ Cf. the statement :

خواجه ابوالبرکات سمرقندی که آخر درزمان شاه طاهر به دکن
 آمدہ بود در ذمیلت و ندیمه عدیل و نظیر نداشت -

[Farishta, Vol. I. p. 356.]

² Bādāūnī, Vol. I, p. 489.

Round over thy lip thou hast drawn a line of
emerald ;
Thy stature has come out like 'alif,' may its
shadow increase,
And from thy eyebrows thou hast drawn a
mad' over that 'alif' ;
Thou hast cast a dice of acceptance on the
words of others,
On the words of lovers thou hast drawn the
pen of rejection ;
O Farāqī, do not despair the boon of his
union,
Since thou hast suffered endless tyranny and
oppression of the beloved.

Maulānā Muhammad bin i 'Alī bin i Muhammad
al Miskinī al Qāzī as Samarqandī, a man of consider-
able learning remained unnoticed by the
Mughal historians, author of a distin-
guished Persian work entitled '*Jawāhir ul'Ulūm*' (or
the pearls of Sciences) not published. It is a volu-
minous work covering 814 foll. (1,628 pages), of large
foolscap size, closely written in neat elegant Arabic
character. It is divided into several chapters and
subdivisions, and treats of one hundred and twenty
different subjects which are discussed under those
headings with admirable brevity and simpleness of
style. Some discussions are on history, astronomy,
mathematics, medicine, logic, philosophy, ethics, and
Muslim jurisprudence. The copyist is one Nūr
Muhammad's son, 'Abdurrahmān of Lāhore. The
date of compilation is contained in its very name

which is inserted both in the Introduction and at the end, and works out into 946 A.H¹. The work is called 'Humāyūni' after the name of the emperor, to whom, as it appears from the Preface, this copy was formally presented. The author also incidentally hints at several works of his prior to this one, and says as a reason for writing this book, that from his very boyhood till his mature age, he was busy in acquiring knowledge under the best teachers of the age, and having studied some rare works like 'Nafā'is ul Funūn fī 'Arā'is ul 'Uyūn,' 'Sittin ul Āsār,' and 'Hadā'iq ul Anwār,' he thought of putting together their contents as well as those of his previous works, in a smaller compilation. The work is therefore a sort of Encyclopedia which is a singular undertaking in that age and stands by itself.

The title page bears the seals of Shāh Jahān, Sulaimān Jāh, Sultān 'Ālam, and Shāh 'Ālam, with several autographs of the librarians and private owners. These, with the inscription of Sulaimān Jāh's seal², suggest that the book remained in the

¹ Cf. the title and its working :

كتيب 20+400+10+2 = 432

جواهر 3 + 6 + 1 + 5 + 200 = 215

العلوم 1 + 30 + 70 + 30 + 6 + 40... ... = 177

همایونی 5 + 40 + 1 + 10 + 6 + 50 + 10 = 122

كتيب جواهر العلوم همایونی

Total 946 A H.

² Cf. the inscription in verse :

خوش است مهر کتبخانه سلیمان جا

بگ کتاب مزین چو نقش بسم الله

libraries of the kings of Delhi and Oudh. Since the work is of peculiar interest, it would be of some value for a student of literary history to observe the style of its language, and the tone of the author's Preface and his address to the king, together with the subjects discussed, which in those days formed the main basis of learning and considered important from a scholar's standpoint.

The first 3 folios are reproduced from the original as follows :—fol. 1 b.

كتاب جواهر العلوم
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
و تتم بالخير

فاضلترین منظومات جواهر علوم، وتصنيفات مصنفات
فاضل، و کاملترین منشورات نوادر رسم و تالیفات مؤلفان
کامل که چهره فصاحت شعار نواعر و سان نفایس فنون
معقوله و جبهه بلاغت دثار زیمایان عرایس عیون منقوله
را بزیور فضیلت و بزینت کرامت مزین و محلی سازند
بدایع حمد و سپاس و صنایع مدح بے قیاس حضرت
پادشاهی اسمت که نظام امور عالم، و انتظام مهام
بني آدم بوجود فایض الحجود پادشاهان هئمايون اثر و
شهریاران شریعت پرور منوط و مربوط ساخته، و علم
ترویج امور شرع متین و لواه تنسيق مهمام دین را باوج
سپهر بزین برافراخته فنظم
ذ اوچ اسمان قامر کزخاک * خدائی نیست غیر از ایزد پاد

و صحایف لطایف صلوات و شرایف و ظایف تسلیمات
تحفه روضه آن خلاصه مجموعه کاینات و زبده نسخه
موجودات که ینابیع علوم جمیع علما از بحر محیط
دانش او قطره ایست و مصابیح معارف جمیع فضلا
از مشارق آفتاب معرفتیش ذره فژم

مقتدای انبیا سلطان دارالملک دین

سید اولاد آدم رحمة الله العالیین
و برآل و اصحاب و احباب که ارکان دولت و ۵ ین
واعیان حضرت سید الله الرشیدین اند صلی الله علیه
و علی الله الی هادین و خلفایه الراشدین و اصحابه
اجمیعین اما بعد چنین گوید بنده فقیر و ذرہ
حقیر الراجی من الله الحكم الابدی محمد فاضل بن
علی بن محمد المسکینی القاصی السمرقندی غفرالله
ذنوبه و ستر عیوبه که از ایام صبا تا مقام انتها
در تحصیل فضائل و کمالات می بود و از روایح نفایس
علماء زمان و فوایح مجالس فضلاء دوران حظی تمام
استشمام می نمود و بعد از فراغ مطالعه نفایس الفنون
فی عرایس العیون و ستین الاثار و حدائق الانوار
و بعضی از فواید شریفه فضلاء فصاحت شعار این عزم
جزم گشت که خلاصه الفاظ جواهر آبدار و زبده مفاخر
معانی ابکار آنها را مع نقوه فواخر اخبار و خزف ریه
چند بی مقدار که ازین خاکسار سمت اشتهار دارد بقیده

خامئنواه رنگار آورده تاحفه زیباه شده مل برصاد و بیدست

علم ترتیب دهد و موضوع هر یک را بزبان فارسی
برسبیل اختصار باحسن نظام و اذسب ترتیب انتظام نماید
بروجهی که مفید خاص و عام و مستحسن جمیع طوایف
انام باشد چون روی امید به کرم کریم جاوید کرد و ذریعه
افتقار و انکسار بیان آورده لاجرم از مبداء فیاض علی
الاطلاق باوجوده عدم استحقاق باقیمان آن امر عظیم مشرف
شد و بانجام آن شغل جسمی مستعد گشت و آنرا بحواره
العلوم همایونی موسوم گرداند و عنوانات متنوعه آنرا
بوقلمه و سمه مقاکه خاوهت سهتمت اندظام

و صفت اختتام داد و خلعت بے بضاعتیش را بطراز مدرج
حضرت صاحبقران مطرز و ذات منقصت سماش را بتشریف
(fol. 2a) ثنا حضرت سلیمانی معزز گردانید که ظاهر
خجسته ماشیش مورد آثار فیوضات الہی است و باطن
فرخنده میامنش مهبط انوار الہامات فامتناهی - طبع
لطیفیش عارف معارف جمیع فضایل و کمالات و ذهن شریفیش
واقف موافق جمیع معقولات و منقولات - همگی همت عالی
نهیتش بر تنقیم قوایم ملت غرا و تشیید دعایم شریعت
بیضا مقصود است و تمامی اوقات خجسته ساعتیش
به مراقبه حال مشایخ بزرگوار و تمثیل مهام سادات
عالیقدار و رعایت علماء اعلام و تنقیت امور قضاء اسلام
عصور اعني جم جاه سلیمان دستگاه سکندر جناب آسمان

قباب جمشید مقام خورشید جسام فریدون فر گردن مقر
انجوم حشم کواکب خدم مهر مکان سپهر مکین ملایک نشان
ارایک نشین صبح سیمای آنتاب رای ستاره درم دریا کرم
ناظم مناظم سرافرازی مقوی ارکان ملت حاجی معزالسلطنة

وَالْخِلَافَةُ مِنْهُمْ هُمَايُونَ بَادِشَاهَ الْغَازِي

حَلَى اللَّهِ قَعْدَتِي سَرِّبُرْ سَلَطَنَتِ عَلَى الْفَلَكِ

الْأَوَاعِ وَبَسْطِ بَسَاطِهِ مَلَكَتِي الْأَقْلَيَمِ السَّابِعِ

امیدواری بكمال کرم کردگاری آنکه مستعدان مجلس
اشرف اعلی ارقام این اوراق افادت انجام، ارشف قبول
مشرف سازند و سطور این اجزایی بلاغت فرجام را منظور
نظر اعتبارگردانیده بر زلات مكسوراللسان نیند ازند-فطم

خداؤندا چو از محض عنایت

بالطافی که آنرا نیست غایت

کرم کردي بمن توفيق تاليف

مرا دادی تو استعداد تصنیف

که تصنیف مرا مقبول گردان

بنزد نسخه سنجان سخن دان

بروی من درے از فضل بکشا

خطاهاهے قلم را عفو فرما

مقدمة مذقسم است بسته قسم - قسم اول

در بیان شرف علوم و فضیلت علماء - هرچند اثبات این دعوی و تحقیق این معنی احتیاج به بحث و برهان و حاجت بدلا لیل و بیان ذدارد زیرا که جمیع طوایف امام و عموم افراد بنی آدم بشرف سعادات علم معتبر اند و بعدم تحصیل کمالات متساوی اما تیمنا و تبرکات بعضی از آنچه در کتب سماوی مذبور است و از احادیث نبوی مشهور و از ارباب نقوس قدسی مذکور گشته علی سبیل الاجمال

مسطود میگردد اینچه در قرآن مجید و فرقان حمید مسطود است قال الله تعالى

هَلْ يَسْتَوِي الَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونْ # جه نفی استوا میان ایشان بواسطه شرف علم و نقصان جهل است وَعَلِمَكَ مَالَمْ تَكُنْ تَعْلَمَ وَ كَانَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكَ عَظِيمًا # حضرت عزت باوجود چندیں هزار الطاف و اعطاف که نسبت بحضور رسالت عنایت فرموده بهمیم چیزے بروی منت فنهاد الیعلم اطیعوالله و اطیعوالرسول و اولی الامر منکم # اکثر مفسران بین اند که مراد از اولی الامر درین مقام عالمانند یرفع الله الذین آمنو منکم والذین اوتوا العلم درجات # جه اول بلند گردانیده درجه مومنان

دا و بعد ازاں فرمود که درجات مـا هـل علم رـاست و اـذین
 جـا لازم آـید کـه درجات اـهل علم اـز درجات دـیگرـان بـیشـتر
 بـود و اـنچـه در انـحـیـل مـذـکـور است اـز مقـاـمـان سـلـیـمان
 منـقول است کـه حق قـعـالـی فـرمـودـه است کـه یـا
 عـیـسـیـ عـظـمـ الـعـلـمـاءـ وـ اـعـرـفـ فـضـلـهـمـ فـیـانـیـ فـضـلـتـهـمـ عـلـیـ
 جـمـیـعـ خـلـقـیـ إـلـاـ النـبـیـینـ وـ الـمـرـسـلـیـنـ كـفـضـلـ الشـمـسـ عـلـیـ
 الـکـوـاـکـبـ وـ كـفـضـلـ الـاـخـرـةـ عـلـیـ الدـنـیـاـ وـ كـفـضـلـیـ عـلـیـ
 کـلـ شـیـ* یـعنـی یـا عـیـسـیـ تعـظـیـمـ کـنـ توـ عـلـمـاـ دـاـ وـ
 بشـناسـ فـضـیـلـتـ اـیـشـانـ رـاـ بـتـحـقـیـقـ کـه منـ تـرجـیـحـ
 کـرـدـهـ اـمـ اـیـشـانـراـ برـ جـمـیـعـ خـلـقـ خـوـهـ مـگـرـ اـنـبـیـاـ وـ
 پـیـغـمـبـرـانـ مـرـسـلـ وـ فـضـلـ اـیـشـانـ مـثـلـ فـضـلـ وـ شـرـفـ
 آـفـتاـبـیـسـتـ برـ کـوـاـکـبـ وـ مـثـلـ فـضـلـ وـ شـرـفـ آـخـرـتـ استـ برـ
 دـنـیـاـ وـ مـثـلـ فـضـلـ وـ شـرـفـ منـ استـ برـ قـمـامـ مـخـلـوقـاتـ۔
 وـ اـنـچـهـ یـارـ اـحـادـیـثـ هـذـکـورـ اـسـتـ قـالـ
 عـلـیـہـهـ اـلـسـلـامـ النـاسـ عـالـمـ اوـ مـتـعـلـمـ وـ سـائـرـ النـاسـ
 کـاـلـهـمـحـ لاـ خـیـرـ فـیـہـمـ* یـعنـی مـرـادـ اـز اـنـسـانـ یـاـ عـالـمـ اـسـتـ
 یـاـ مـتـعـلـمـ وـ بـاقـیـ مـرـدـمـانـ چـوـنـ مـگـسـانـدـ کـهـ درـ اـیـشـانـ
 نـیـکـوـئـیـ نـیـسـتـ۔ وـ قـوـاهـ عـلـیـہـهـ اـلـسـلـامـ اـقـرـبـ النـاسـ
 مـنـ دـرـجـةـ النـبـوـةـ (fol. 2b) اـهـلـ الـعـلـمـ وـ الـجـهـادـ* یـعنـی اـزـ
 مـرـدـمـانـ ذـرـدـیـکـتـرـ بـدـرـجـةـ نـبـوـتـ اـهـلـ عـلـمـ وـ اـهـلـ جـهـادـ اـنـدـ

وَقُولَةٌ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَضْلُ الْعَالَمِ عَلَى الْعَابِدِ كَفَضْلِي
عَلَى ادْنَى كَمْ مَرِيَّةً - عَالَم بِرْ عَابِدٌ جُونْ مَرِيَّةٌ مَنْسَتْ بِرْ
ادْنَى شَمَا - قُولَةٌ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَشْفَعُ يَوْمَ
الْقِيَامَةِ ثَلَاثَةُ الْأَنْبِيَاءُ ثُمَّ الْعُلَمَاءُ ثُمَّ الشَّهِيدَاءُ - يَعْنِي دَرْ رُوز
قِيَامَتِ خَلْقِ رَاسَهُ طَائِفَهُ شَفَاعَتْ كَنْنَدَهُ باشِنَدَهُ أَنْبِيَا
وَعُلَمَاءُ وَشَهِيدَاهُ وَقُولَةٌ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مَنْ صَلَّى خَلْفَ
عَالَمٍ مِنَ الْعُلَمَاءِ فَكَانَهُ صَلَّى خَلْفَ نِبِيًّا مِنَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ *
يَعْنِي هُرْ كَهْ نِمازْ گَذَارَدْ دَرْ عَقَبْ عَالَمِ ازْ عَلَمَانْ گُوبَا نِمازْ
گَذَارَدَهُ اسْتَدْرَعَقَبْ پِيغَمْبَرَهُ ازْبِيغَمْبَرَانْ قَالْ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
اَفْضَلُ الْعِلُومِ مَا يَحْتَاجُ النَّاسُ إِلَيْهِ * يَعْنِي اَفْضَلُ عِلُومَ آنِ
عِلْمُ اسْتَكَهْ اَحْتِيَاجَهُ مَرْدَمَانْ بَدَانْ پِيشَتَرْ بُودَهُ -
دارْ فُوَادَهُ الْفَتَاوَىِيَّهُ آدَرَهُ كَهْ پِيغَامْبَرْ فَرْمُودَهُ
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ هُرْ عَالَمِيَّهُ كَهْ بَنْدَهُ مَوْمَنْ رَا عَلَمِ
بِيامِوزَدَهُ حَقِّ سِبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى دَرْ رُوزْ قِيَامَتِ هَزارْ قَلَادَهُ
ازْ دَنَواهُرْ گَرَدَنْ اوْ كَندَهُ وَبَفَرْمَايِدَهُ فَرْشَتَگَانْ رَا تَا بَنْوِيَسَنَدَهُ
ازْ بَرَاءَهُ اوْ بَعْدَهُ هُرْ مَوْئِيَّهُ كَهْ بَرْتَنْ اوْ بُودَهُ ثَوَابُ حَجَّ
اَكْبَرُ وَهُرْ كَهْ يَكْ بَابَهُ ازْ عِلْمِ بِيامِوزَدَهُ اَكْرَجَهُ يَكْ حَدِيثِ
بَاشَدَهُ حَقِّ تَعَالَى ثَوَابَهُ هَفَقَادَهُ پِيغَمْبَرَانْ بَاوَهُ اَذَانِي
هَادَهُ وَهُرْ كَهْ يَكْ بَابَهُ ازْ عِلْمِ بَشَنَوَهُ چَنَانْ بَاشَدَهُ كَهْ
بَنْدَهُهُ ۱۰ كَهْ قِيمَتِ آنِ هَزارِ دِينَارَهُ اسْتَهُ زَادَهُ كَرْهَدَهُ بَاشَدَهُ

و شار خبر آست هر که در راه طلب علم غبارے
 بر قدم او نشیند حق تعالی بدن او را از آتش دوزنخ
 نگاه دارد و فیض آمداده آست که حق سبکانه و
 تعالی کوهه آفریده است بمقدار دنیا و فردانه قیامت
 چهل بار در ترازوئه ذهاده شود کسے که جهت علم
 دوزی بزا فنے ادب پیش عالم نشسته باشد و نیز
 دار خبر آست که هر که یک روز در طلب علم گذارد
 نزدیک حق تعالی بپردازد از عبادت هزار ساله و در
 دو آنار الفتاوی آورده است که هر که یک درم در
 طلب علم صرف کند چنان باشد که مقدار کوہ
 ابو قمیس زر در راه حق تعالی صرف ذموده باشد قسم دار و
 در بیان تعریف و تقسیم جمیع افراد علوم معقوله
 و توصیف تمامی انواع فنون معقوله - بدآن که علم
 بحسب اشتراک لفظی بچند معنی مستعمل است گاهی
 بمعنی صفتی بود که موجب تمیزگردد و باین معنی
 علم از قبیل مقوله کیف باشد و گاهی بمعنی مصدري
 و بمعنی عالیت آید و بپرس تقدیر از قبیل مقوله
 مضاف بود و گاهی بمعنی حصول صورت چیزی در عقل
 آید و باین اعتبار از مقوله انفعال باشد و گاهی
 بمعنی اعتقاد جازم مطابق ثابت و گاهی بمعنی حکم
 بوقوع نسبت و بپرس دو تقدیر از مقوله فعل است و
 گاهی بر چند تصدیق اطلاق نمایند از مسائل که

راجع باشد آنها بسوی موضوع واحد چون علم فقه و علم طب و علم فنحو و امثال آن و این را صناعت نامند و علم بمعنی صناعت دو نوع است حکمت و ادب حکمت آنست که نسبت او به جمیع ازمنه و جمیع اقوام علی السویة باشد چون علم الهی و علم هیئت - و ادب آنست که به بعضی از اقوام و از منه مخصوص باشد چون علم نحو و صرف که مبني بر قوانین عربیه است نه بر قوانین اهل فرس و علم حکمت دو نوع است، حکمت عملی و حکمت نظری - و حکمت نظری عبارتست از دانستن چیزها چنانچه باید و حکمت عملی بفعل آوردن چیزهاست چنانچه شاید بقدر طاقت بشری - حکمت نظری سه قسم است اعلی و اوسط و اسفل و این سه قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم است چنانچه هر یک مذکور میشود **اول علم اعملی** که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن بغیر ماده است چون معرفت الله و عقول و نفوس و وحدت و کثرت و مانند آن و اصول این علم بر دو قسم است معرفت الله و مبادی مخلوقات از عقول و نفوس و این قسم اول را علم الهی یعنی الهیات خوانند و معرفت امور عامه چون معرفت وجود و حدوث و قدوم و امثال آن و این قسم دوم را علم فلاسفه اولی نامند دوم علم اوسط یعنی علم ریاضی (fol. 3a, begins on page 89)

که موضوع او در ذهن ماده ندارد و در خارج بیه ماده نبود
چون اشکال و دوایر و اعداد و امثال آن و اصول این علم بر
جهاد قسم است هندسه که عبارت است از معرفت مقادیر
واشکال و خط تعلیمی و لواحق آن و علم هیئت که عبارت
است از معرفت اوضاع اجرام علوی یا اجرام سفلی و علم
تالیف که عبارت است از دانستن تالیفات چون تالیف
نغمات و حرکات و این علم را موسیقی خوانند و علم تالیف
الفاظ مطلق از عربی و فارسی که مخصوص قومی و زمانی نباشد
سی و معلم **اسفل** یعنی علم طبیعی که موضوع او در
خارج و ذهن ماده دارد چون انسان و حیوان و مانند آن
و اصول این علم بر هشت قسم است معرفت مبادی
متغیرات چون هیولی و صورت و زمان و مکان و سکون و حرکت
و امثال آنرا علم اسماء طبیعی نامند و معرفت اجسام بسیطه
و مرکبه و معرفت احکام بسایط علوی و سفلی چون اخلاق
و کواكب و عناصر و امثال آنرا علم اسماء عالم گویند که
افتتاح این نسخه شریفه بآنها خواهد بود معرفت ارکان
و تبدل و استحاله و نظایر آنرا مثل علم کیمیاگری از
تصعید و تکلیس و حل و عقد و عمل اکسیر و مثل آنکه
آب بسته شود و سنگ بگدازد و آب گردید و آتش هوا
شود آنرا علم کون و فساد نامند و معرفت اسباب حوادث
هوائی چون برق و رعد و صاعقه و هاله و باران و ذله و امثال
آنرا علم آثار علوی خوانند و معرفت مرکبات و کیفیت
قرکیبات جواهر و اجساد و کبریت و سیمان و مانند آن را

علم معادن گویند و معرفت اجسام نامیه و قوای آن چون
 کیفیت محکمی بیخ ها در زمین و برآمدن قوایم آن
 در هوا و در ازی و کوتاهی و کجی و راستی شاخهای و صورت
 برگها و کیفیات حبوب از نشو و نها و مانند آن را علم
 نباتات خوانند و معرفت احوال اجسام متاخر که بحرکت
 اراضی و میادی حرکات و قوای ایشان چون معرفت و حوش
 و طیور و کیفیت اعصاب و اورده و شرائین و اختلاف صور
 و حیوانات و منافرت طبایع و امزجه و مبانیت اخلاق و افعال
 و توابع آنرا علم حیوانات نامند و معرفت احوال
نفس فاطقه انسانی و جگونگی تدبیر و تصرف چون
 کیفیت روح و بودن او داخل در بدن یا خارج یا محبی طب بدن
 یا عین یا عرض یا جوهر یا جسم، امثال آنرا علم نفس
 نفوس خوانند **حکمت عملی** چهار قسم است
حکمت خلقي یعنی علم اخلاق که باصلاح
 هر شخص تعلق دارد **حکمت منزلی** یعنی علم معاش
حکمت مجلسی یعنی علم مجالس و محاضر و
حکمت بدنی یعنی علم آداب ملوک و این چهار
 قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم است و علم ادب نیز مشتمل
 است بر چهارده علم و علم مناظره و علم منطق
 را نیز داخل ادبیات داشته اند چنانچه مذکور
 خواهد شد — علم دین دو نوع است، علم احکام

دین و علم حجج متبین - علم احکام دین و نوع است - علم احکام عملیه و علم احکام اعتقادیه - علم احکام عملیه یا بظاهر تعلق دارد یا بباطن - علم احکامیه که تعلق بظاهر دارد علم فقه است، علم احکام عملیه که تعلق بباطن دارد علم تصوف است و علم احکام اعتقادیه اگر موافق قوانین شریعت غرا باشد علم کلام است و علم حجج سه نوع است علم تفسیر و علم حدیث و علم اصول فقه و اسامی فروع هر یک از علوم دینی و حکمی و ادبی به تمام در فهرست این نسخه سعادت انجام مذکور است و مسطور والله اعلم بحقایق الامور

قسم سوم از مقدمه در بیان تعداد ابواب و فهرست این کتاب چون از فیض کرم عیم الهی و فضل نعم جسم نامتناهی این بندۀ ضعیف بتدوین، تالیف این روز کلوز علوم، آداب و تصنیف فنون اهل فضل، خطاب اعني مجموعه کمالات انسانی و نسخه سعادات اهل معانی مشرف شد عنوانات متعددۀ آنرا بر طبق منظومات مسطورة بشرف نظام خجسته فرجمان منتظم گردانید، مقالات متعددۀ آنرا بر وقف این مرقومات مذکوره بسعادت اتمام فرخنده انجام رسانید **بعد از قسم اول از مقاله اولی از کتاب** fol. 3 b جواهرالعلوم باب ۱ در علم خط باب ۲ در علم انشا باب ۳ در علم شعر باب ۴ در علم قافیه باب ۵

در علم عروض باب ۶ در علم معنّا و حل معنیّات
 امیر حسین و بیان نفر باب ۷ در علم بدایع و صنایع
 شعری و اظهار مضر باب ۸ در علم لطایف و مطابیبات
 باب ۹ در علم امثال و حکایات بر سبیل تشبيه
 واستعارات باب ۱۰ در علم لغت و بیان واضح آن
 باب ۱۱ در علم صرف باب ۱۲ در علم نحو
 باب ۱۳ در علم معانی باب ۱۴ در علم بیان
 باب ۱۵ در علم مغالطات منقوله و معقوله باب ۱۶
 در علم عقاید باب ۱۷ در علم معرفت الهیات
 باب ۱۸ در علم امور عامه باب ۱۹ در علم اعراض
 باب ۲۰ در علم حکمت باب ۲۱ در علم منطق
 باب ۲۲ در علم مناظره و آداب البحث بنظر
 تعداد قسم دوم از مقاله اویا از کتاب
جواهرالعلوم

باب ۱ در علم قصص الانبیا باب ۳ در معرفت
 تاریخ ملوك فرس که قبل از عهد سید المرسلین
 بوده اند باب ۳ در علم سیرالنبي و بیان معجزات

و ذکر معراج باب ۳ در معرفت و اتعات و غزوات
نبیوی و بیان اوصاف خانهٔ کعبه پاپ ۵ در معرفت

اوصاف و احوال جمیع خلفاً پاپ ۶ در معرفت
تاریخ سلاطین که بعد از خلفاً بوده‌اند تا
عهد بنده‌گان حضرت صاحبقران باب ۷ در معرفت
تاریخ بنده‌گان حضرت صاحبقران و اولاده و احفاده
بزرگوار ایشان باب ۸ در علم انساب پاپ ۹

در علم مقالات عالم باب ۱۰ در علم سیرو مقامات طبقهٔ
اولی از اولیا پاپ ۱۱ در معرفت مراقبات و مقامات طبقهٔ
ثانیه از مشایخ طریقت از خواجہ‌ای نقشبند وغیره‌م
و بیان مقابر و مزارات انبیاء و اولیا و بیان طرح و وضع
خانهٔ کعبه باب ۱۲ در بیان عجائب المخلوقات از
امور اخروی و دنیوی—**تعجب‌دان** قسم اول از مقالهٔ
دوم از کتاب جواهر العلوم—باب ۱ در تهذیب
اخلاق پاپ ۱۳ در علم تخلیه نفس از اوصاف ذمیمه
باب ۱۴ از علم معاش در معرفت حقوق والدین و اولاد
باب ۱۵ در بیان معاملات با زوجات باب ۱۶ در معرفت

ادب استخدام باب ۶ در معرفت حقوق مالیک
 باب ۷ در معرفت جیران باب ۸ در علم مجالس و
 محاضر باب ۹ از علم آداب ملوك در بیان علم حقوق
 رعایا بر ملوك باب ۱۰ در علم حقوق ملوك بر رعایا
 باب ۱۱ در بیان معرفت جواهرنامه باب ۱۲
 در بیان معرفت فرس نامه و بعضی از حیوانات باب ۱۳
 در بیان معرفت قوس نامه باب ۱۴ در بیان معرفت
 باز نامه وغیره باب ۱۵ در علم تشريح اعضا باب ۱۶
 در معرفت کلیات طبی باب ۱۷ در بیان اسباب سته
 ضروریه و ما يتعلّق بها باب ۱۸ در بیان
 علم نبض باب ۱۹ در بیان معالجات طبی
 باب ۲۰ در بیان حیات باب ۲۱ در بیان علم
 قرایا دین يعني معرفت ادويه مفرده و مرکبه
 به ترتیب حروف تهجی باب ۲۲ در امراض عین
 تعداد قسم دوم از مقاله دوم از کتاب
جواهرالعلوم - باب ۱ در علم عبادات بر مذاهب
- اربعه باب ۲ در علم مناکحات و تحلیفات -

باب ۳ در علم معاملات **باب ۴** در معرفت عقوه وشهادات و ماذاسب بهذه المسطورات **باب ۵** در علم عقوبات و جنایات **باب ۶** در علم فرایض و قسمت مواريث و ایراد تواعد چند جهة نسبت و ضرب و قسمت و شبکه و حساب **باب ۷** در علم آداب القاضي و متفرقات(مشتمل بر مباحث و قضایا و مجالس) **باب ۸** در علم صكوك و قبالجات **باب ۹** در علم محاضر و دعاوی **باب ۱۰** در علم سجلات **باب ۱۱** در علم فتوی **باب ۱۲** در علم اصول فقه **باب ۱۳** در علم احتساب **باب ۱۴** در علم صید و اصطیاد و حلیث و حرمت اکثر حیوانات **باب ۱۵** در علم سنن و احکام **باب ۱۶** در علم آداب طعام **باب ۱۷** در معرفت امور مباحة **باب ۱۸** در معرفت فوائد متفرقة و لطائف مجتمعه فقهیه- **باب ۱۹** در علم موعظه و نصایح تعداد آن قسم اول از مقاله سیوم از کتاب جواهرالعلوم - **باب ۲۰** در علم تفسیر و حل الفاظ مشکله قرآنی **باب ۲۱** در علم قراءت سبعه بنظم (fol. 4a) **باب ۲۲** در علم خواص

اواد فتحیه و ترجمه قصیده بردہ بنظم و حزب البحر
 سور و آیات باب ۳ در علم ادعیه ماثوره و دعوات مشهوره
 باب ۵ در علم حدیث باب ۶ در علم اصول حدیث
 باب ۷ در معرفت قواعد و اصطلاحات صوفیه باب ۸
 در علم سلوک باب ۹ در علم توحید و مراتب مکاشفات
 باب ۱۰ در معرفت مشاهدات باب ۱۱ در معرفت
 مقامات و مراتب آن باب ۱۲ در علم حقیقت تعداد
 قسم دوم از مقاله سیدوم از کتاب جواهر العلوم
 باب ۱ در معرفت تقویم شمسی و قمری و اختیار ساعات
 باب ۲ در معرفت استخراج تقویم و شبکه نجومی
 باب ۳ در معرفت احکام نجوم باب ۴ در علم
 هیئت باب ۵ در علم اصطلاح و بیان صنعت آن
 باب ۶ در معرفت کرۂ افلاک باب ۷ در معرفت
 اقالیم سبعه باب ۸ در علم صور کواکب باب ۹
 در معرفت مسالک و ممالک عالم باب ۱۰ در علم
 تکسیر باب ۱۱ در علم اعداد وقف باب ۱۲

در علم حروف باب ۱۳ در علم جفر جامع
 باب ۱۴ در علم طلسمات باب ۱۵ در علم
 نیرنچات باب ۱۶ در علم کیمیا باب ۱۷
 در علم سیمیا باب ۱۸ در علم دعوه اسپاهه ،
 شرایط آن باب ۱۹ در علم تسخیر کواکب
 باب ۲۰ در علم عزایم باب ۲۱ در علم رمل
 باب ۲۲ در علم حساب باب ۲۳ در علم
 مساحت و جر انتقال و بیان مبصرات باب ۲۴ در
 علم استیفا باب ۲۵ در علم قیامت باب ۲۶
 در تعبیر خواب باب ۲۷ در معرفت اختلالات
 و علم شانه و طالع مسله و معرفت تفال و تطییر و امثال
 آن باب ۲۸ در معرفت طالع موالید و زایجه طالع
 باب ۲۹ در معرفت اشکال اقلیدس باب ۳۰
 در علم متosteات باب ۳۱ در علم موسیقی باب ۳۲
 در علم دم و وَم که حکماء هند درین علم کتب
 معتبره تصنیف نموده اند باب ۳۳ در علم

شطرنج کبیر، صغير، حلیت، حرمت آنها بمنهبيين
و بيان ضمایر خاتمه در علامات قيامت، احوال آخرت -

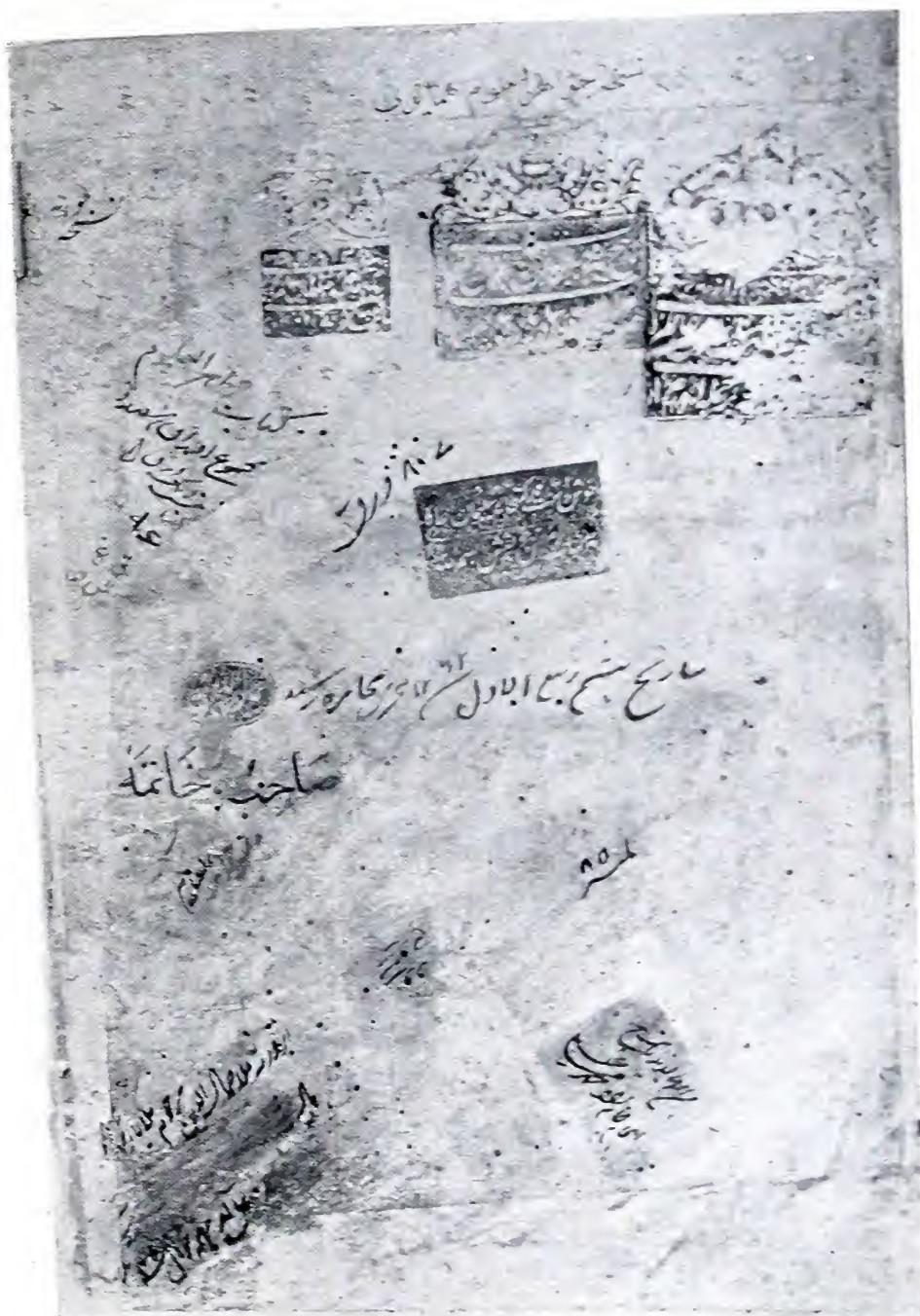
**باب اول از قسم اول از مقاله‌اولی از کتاب
جواهر العلوم - در بیان علم خط مشتمل بر شش**

فصل اول در تعریف خط بدانکه خط

عبدارتست از معرفت تصویر کلمات و تحریر ترکیبات از
حروف مفردة و اصول تهیجی و کیفیت صنایع و اوصاف آن
باعتبار صنعت کتابت و صفت خطی و این صنعتیست که حروف
تراکیب غرایش مفاتیح کنوز مرادات دو جهانی
است.....الخ

In the abovequoted preface of the author several points are of special interest, of which the following deserve notice :

1. The work was the greatest and most important literary undertaking in Humāyūn's reign.
2. The author's idea of writing an Encyclopædia in that age, with the object of presenting it to a Mughal emperor in India, and not to any other Eastern monarch of a neighbouring country, is significant, and throws ample light on the literary taste of, and patronage shown by, the Mughal rulers.
3. The then prevailing system of writing chapters and headings in red ink, with



FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF
“JAWĀHIR UL ‘ULŪM HUMĀYŪNĪ.”

[Author's family possession.]

كتاب جواهر العلوم

جواهر العلوم

وأمثلت مثومات جواهر علوم ونبيات مثبات نامن وكمالين مثوى بيت لوازيمه
وأذيات مولفان كامل كجهة فضاحت شمار بغسان تمايس نون معمود وحبيه بلاغه
رنيايان عايس ميون مغقول رايزور فضيلت وبريزت كما مت مني وصلب سارند بلاغ مددونيس
منايم ملح فيناس حضرت بادشاهي امث كنظام امور عالم وانتظام عمامي آدم بروح فائضه
دشمان جيابون اثر و شهر باران شهبت بير وصوط و مر بروط ساخته و علم بروج اسود شمع مني
دوله شريقي مدام دين را باوج سهمه برب برا فاخته نظام زاوج آسامه تامك خلاص شعلاني
ایز پاک و صافيف لهايف ملوات و شبليف و ظافيف نسبات تفعیه بعده آن خلاص عموده مايانه
زقد نجه موجودات که بناس علوم همچ علام از بعدي طيط داش اوقطه ایست و مصالح معارف همچ فضله
شارق آناب مرینش ذره نظام مفتلای انبیاء سلطان دارالملک دین ستبلا و کادام رحمة للعلیین
و عزال و اصحاب کارگان دولت و دین و اعبان حضرت سیدالمرسلین الله علیه السلام و علی آله
و صلواته الرأیشیت و اصحاب اجیت امباشد جنیت کوید بدلہ فقیر و ذره حضرت الاجیت الله علیه السلام
سید فاضل بن علی بن محمد البیکی الماقضی الشمشنی غفرانه ذنویه و ستر عیوبه که از ایام صبان قم
در تفصیل فضائل و کلاتی و دواز رواج نفاین افتوضیفه ایلی عیون و سین آثار و حلیفه ایلی
و پیشی زلیل بد شنیه فضلله دریافت حکی خانه علام رزان و فواج عیالی فضله دویان
و بعد از فتح مطالعه نفاین المفون فی علایی العیون و سین اکار و حداقی لارند و عینی از نوابه و پیغم
فضاحت شمار این هرم جویشت که خلاص الفاظ جواهر آباد روزبه مخازم مهای ایکان اهوار امام خود و پیغم
و خیزیزه جنیتی مقدار که این حکاکار است اشتیار داره بقید خامه نادر نکار او زده خضر ریایه نیزه
وشیش بر صد هیئت علم تریب دهد و مونش هر یک را بینیان فاری برسیل اختری باصن نهاد
تریب انتظام بنا یار و جھی که تقدیل خاص دعام و متحفظ جمیع طوابی اقامه باشد پریزی مسنه
کر جه حاویکرد و خیمه اتفاقار و انسکار عیان آوره لا اجره زامیله فیاض علی اطلاق باوره ملکه
پیامران امواعظیم و شرفت د و باعما مان شمل جمیع منفعتی شد و از بیواهی الملوک جایه
گردانی و عنوانات منوعه آن اتفاقیم بعد مقاؤه خانست امت ائمه و ائمه اهتماما و ائمه
وی میانعنه رایطه از ملح حضرت صاحب فران مطرکه دهانه است خانست خانش رایغه هنر شایع

اللہ کوئی نہ سلا بکھہ امہ کوئید السلام علیہ اور علی میعاد اللہ امدادیں ایجاد
 ہے کا اللہ امہ اللہ داشتہ اُن مُسَعِّدِاً عبده درستہ مدد منیات دریں
 اربی بر سر ایسا اس تایہ کند بر قوف هے نوری سارہ دین فیما رسد کہ بچڑی
 بچڑی جی خوش آبید ازین بازار برای خود بچڑی دین بخورد و نعم کمیا ہے بچڑی
 بچڑی حاٹی کہ جو چشی شیرہ باشد و حمہ کو شی فتنیہ باشد آپنا موجودہ و محبی
 عابته کنند هرچہ خوش آبید بخورد و بخورد دعا زاد ریافت کرا مخد و درجتیہ
 دعما دین تمام بخود ایں دیوار و غلامان و خادمان و اهل خانہ کویش مریح بالمعجزہ
 بمالی و نوری کہ دریغ است پش ازانت کہ هر روز بخود کو بیندا اسود بخورد کا خود
 را دیدیم و هرچہ با دعہ کو وہ بخود ہے پا فتیم فالعیند لیت دبت عالیعیند لیت
 خریوز وقت بامداد و شبانہ کا جمال بچوت و بی جگوئہ عابته سند و حمد و کیا
 فایلہ کویید درین میان هر کا دایا بارند بصورت کو خسندی سیاہ و برمہ ایشو
 ایلک و میان پیشیان دوزخیان صعل کنند و فرشنکان تذاکن کدک ای خل نیتیہ
 جملہ زینت مریت نیت دای احل دوزخ بیانیں مرث صورت بقینہ حل بیشتمان
 بیشتمان بیزاید واہل دوزخ راندہ راندہ زیادت کرد بعتر ناکا و آکا نیتیہ
 خیز کویید ایت چہ ادارا است فرشنکان کو بیند در ہای دوزخ دشند و سکنی کہ سو
 دوزخ است بروزخ داشتند کما فان ابا ایا بدر اخ سایدیند موسان محلہ دشت
 غذر کر فتند دلک حضک اللہ بیت نیہ من بُشَّارَ اللَّهُ دُوْلَفُلِ الْعَظِيمِ کیتت
 حال بیشتمان بارصہ زاری دین متعصر اور دہ نشانہ است اکنی دار زادہ بیشتمان
 درین کیمیت مطلوب باشد دتفاسیر فران مطلور است جو شعلہ و واقعیت
 سفر و سعی و در حملما یہ کہ مذکور شد مطلعہ فرمائید تابی ای تہذی اوجہ
 در حملما سبیانیہ است اور شکل ان سوت اموزغا فیلان است حق شکلیہ راندہ
 سیاہ کنند بخود سرفت و اشنا ی بخشد و هر بکی ماسنخی المثلیم کرد ای و ایضا
 لکرا مسحاد در حقیقت رعنی کند والز جملہ بندا کن کرد اند دیخوت شریعہ ای
 لا خوف علیہم ولا ہبم بیرون تو شرف سازنہ المقص اعماقیجیع الدینیں و ای
 ام الصلیعیت والسلات ایا بیا خشم و الاموات ایک رفیق الشہزادات بر جنہیں رای
 ایت الرحمیت دیت

غیرت الکتابت السیئ بخواہر العلوم المشرف بیوایہ علیہم فی علیہم
 مالصلیع المتفق عہد من النقلیات والعقلیات۔ شتمہ شاہد
 حرکتہ خواند دعائی طے دام کتبے فقرہ عبد الرحمان زانکد من بیکہ کبھی نہ

the number of page indicated on the top of each in black ink, is somewhat peculiar, though at the same time very simple (*vide* facs. of fol. 3b).

4. The exceptional command and patience of a copyist to write out such a voluminous work in absolutely one hand and one style from the beginning to the end, with distinctive accuracy, elegance, and neatness, is an important feature of the time, and shows the height of excellence achieved in the art of calligraphy. Also, their mode of crossing and correcting mistakes by enclosing the rejected portion with ' inserted in the beginning, and ' at the end, is indicated in facs. fol. 1b.
5. The subjects discussed in the work, constituted علوم مُتَدَارِسَةً (current sciences), which were commonly taught in the educational institutions in those days, and formed the main basis of learning.
6. Arabic characters were generally employed in writing books of Persian language, and specially in literary and scientific books. Even the poetical works of standard poets were all written in *naskh* (Arabic characters); while Persian characters (*nasta'liq*) were more commonly used in works of less important character, and light literature such as State documents, foreign correspondence, *firmāns*, and official and private letters.

The reason of composition is given by the author in the following words :

و در همه حالات و جمیع اوقات بخدمات حضور
قیام مینموده پس بخاطر این خطور کرده که تیمناً
تبرگاً حالات و معاملات را بطريق یادداشت بقدر
فراست خود.....قد کره نماید

And in all circumstances and at all times he had stayed in the service of his Majesty ; so it occurred to his mind that he should record, as a memorandum and a boon and a blessing, the events and anecdotes, according to his own intellectual capacity.

He entered Humāyūn's service as an ewer-bearer at a very young age, and attended him Jauhar. faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindūstān. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humāyūn's private life during his exile. It was undertaken long after Humāyūn's death in the year 995 A.H.²

¹ Ibid., fol. 2a.

² Tazkirat ul Wāqi'at, B.M. MSS. Add. 16, 711, fol. 2b. A copy of this work (inferior to the B.M. Codex) is also in the I.O. Library.

For a critical estimate of Jauhar see Raverty's article in the J. R. A. S.

- A summary of its contents is given below :
- I. Humāyūn's fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujārāti, and the conquest of Gujarāt.
 - II. His contests with Shér Shāh, and temporary victory and occupation of Bengāl.
 - III. Subsequent attack by Shér Shāh and Humāyūn's defeat; his pluck while crossing the river; help given by a water-carrier who was afterwards made to sit on the royal throne at Āgra for half a day (*du sā'at*),¹ in reward for his signal service.

¹ A “*sā'at*” ساعت should not be understood in the strict sense of an hour. The day was then divided, as it is now, into four ‘*sā'at*’ or ‘*ghari*’ (also known as ‘*pās*’ or ‘*pahr*.’) Gulbadan Begam calls these divisions by the last name. Cf.—

نہ مومن دند
تم سے پھر شب مجلس بود بعد از سے پھر حضرت آسایش

[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 37.]

These divisions of time were essentially Indian and had puzzled Bābur greatly. The above statement that the day was divided into four ‘*sā'at*’ is supported by Farishta also, who, in this instance, interprets ‘*du sa'at*’ into half a day. Cf.—

و مدة فرمود که پادشاهی نیمروز را بعد از رسیدن باگرہ بتو
از اینی دارم چنانچہ همان قسم بعمل آمد
[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 407.]

It may however be noted that Gulbadan Begam differs from both Jauhar and Farishta, and declares that the menial sat on the throne for two days. Cf.—

تم دو روز بان غلام پادشاهی دادند
[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 44].

‘*sā'at*’ also means a watch.

IV. Humāyūn's further reverses due to the hostile attitude of his brothers.

V. His flight to Persia ; reception by Shāh Tahmāsp ; the latter's evil designs against Humāyūn, and their aversion through the timely intervention of Bahrām Mirzā's sister ; help given to Humāyūn by the Shāh ; conquest of Cābul ; recruitment of soldiers for the attack on Hindūstān ; death of Shēr Shāh ; Humāyūn's entry into Āgra.

VI. His last days and death by an accidental fall from the staircase of his palace at Delhi.

The style is generally simple and unadorned though at places he has, in conformity with the practice of the times, indulged into rhetorical expressions, probably to make a display of his knowledge, and inserted various quotations from the Qur'ān and the works of Persian poets.

Like Jauhar, he too was in the retinue of Humāyūn during the latter's flight from Hindūstān, and wrote a work entitled '*Tārikh i Bā Yazid*' and '*Humāyūn*' at the request of Akbar. The author's own version as to this undertaking is as follows :

جوں جم جاہ جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاہ
فرمودند از بندھائے درگاہ هر یک را که سلیقه تاریخ

¹ *Tārikh i Humāyūn*, I. O., MSS., 223, fol. 1b.

باشد نویسنده بلکه از ایام سلطنت حضرت جنت آشیانی
همایون پادشاه اگر کسے را در خاطر چیزی مانده
باشد در ان درج نمایند و بنام نامی ما تمام سازند و این
پروانه را نواب شیخ المشایخ شیخ ابوالفضل ولد
شیخ مبارک به بایزید بے بضاعت، سانید -

Since Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh of Jamshīd's dignity said, "Every one from among the servants of the court who possess an aptitude for history may write it, nay, from the reign of Humāyūn Pādishāh, if any one has any events in his recollection, they (he) may insert them therein (history), and conclude it in my Majesty's name." And this royal mandate was conveyed to humble Bā Yazīd by Nawāb Shaikh ul Mashā'ikh Shaikh Abul Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubārak.

The work is almost similar to Jauhar's in diction and style and is full of many interesting incidents of Humāyūn's and Akbar's private lives. It was undertaken at Lāhore in the year 999 A.H., when the author was feeling the infirmity of old age.¹ A most important piece of information contained in the work is the list of scholars and sundry notable officers who accompanied Humāyūn from

¹ Cf. the statement:

د چوں ایام جوانی گذشتہ، ایام پدری درآمدہ بود، حافظہ را قوت
چندانی نماندہ...الخ [Ibid.]

Persia, Cābul, and other territories, on his way back to Hindūstān.¹

His real name was Shaikh Nizām. He entered Humāyūn's service on his second entry into Hindūstān.

Maulānā Zā-mīrī Bilgrāmī. He is said to be an excellent poet of Humāyūn's court, and wrote several 'masnawīs' and 'qasā'id' of which some he dedicated to the emperor. He died at an advanced age in 1003 A.H., and the chronogram of his death was found by one Nawāb Mubārak Khān of Delhi in the words 'اَه اَه نِیزَم' (*āh āh Nizām*). It is a happy coincidence that a poet of the same name also lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and was reckoned among the leading poets of his day. Besides his numerous 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, a custom which very curiously prevailed both in India and Persia, and was a common feature of the two courts, he wrote several 'masnawīs' of which the following were well-known :

- (i) *Wāmiq wa 'azrā.*
- (ii) *Nāz wa Niyāz.*
- (iii) *Afsāna i Bahār wa Khizān.*
- (iv) *Lailā wa Majnūn* (also called "sar-guzasht i Majnūn").
- (v) *Jannat ul Akhyār.*
- (vi) *Sikandar Nāma.*

He also left two 'dīwāns' entitled 'sahā'if i 'amal' and 'Iqd i la'ālī,' consisting mostly of 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh; and 'ghazal' and 'rubā'i' in

¹ Ibid., fols. 72b—76a.

praise of his beloved, and on the transitoriness of this world and its vanities. He died in Persia thirty years before his namesake in India.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Ruknuddīn 'Alā'uddaula Samnānī, and a pupil of Maulānā 'Isām-uddīn in logic and philosophy, and of Husain Mervī. Khwāja the famous Traditionalist Shaikh Ibn i Hajar II, in traditions and theology. As a poet of Persian language he compiled a '*dīwān*,' and is mentioned by Abul Fazl and Badāūnī (both of whom derived their material from *Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*) as one of the poets of Akbar's reign. Bā Yazid, however, mentions the Khwāja under Humāyūn, as one of his constant associates.¹ Some specimens of his poetry, which is full of subtleties peculiar to India, are as follows :

۱۲ از مژہ بے تو آب، فته
و ز دیدہ خیال و خواب، فته

O thou, without thee, from my eye-lash the
water flowed,
And from the eye, the thought and the sleep
departed.

¹ *Vide* the list of scholars who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān [Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O., MSS., fol. 74a]. Also cf. fol. 27b :—

میر عبدالحقیٰ ، خواجہ حسین مودی ، خواجہ ایوب و ابوالبرک
ایں جامعہ کے اہل نشست بودند... الخ

² Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 177.

خود را بما چنانکه نبودی نموده^۱
 افسوس آنچنانکه نمودی نبوده
 Thou hast shown thyself to us in the form
 that was not thine,
 Alas, the manner in which thou hast shown
 thyself thou wast not.

باما گرّه چو غنچه در ابرو فگنده^۲
 با غیر لب چو پسته خندان کشوده
 In association with us thou hast cast a knot,
 like a bud, in thy eye-brow,
 In company with others thou hast opened the
 lip like a smiling pistachio.
 آنم که مالک سخن ملک من است^۳
 صراف خرد صیر فی سلک من است
 دیباچه کن ز دفتر من ورقیست
 اسرار د کون بر سر کلک من است
 I am such that the dominion of speech is my
 property,
 The banker of Wisdom is the tester of my
 string of pearls ;
 The preface of *Existence* is a leaf from my
 book,
 The secrets of both the worlds are on the
 point of my pen.

He wrote a versified translation of the famous
 Hindi work 'Sanghāsan Battisi' entrusted to his care

^۱ Ibid.

^۲ Ibid.

^۳ Ibid.

by Akbar. It remained unfinished when he left India in 980 A.H., for Cābul, where he died soon after. His poetic powers and erudition may well be judged by the fact that Faizī was his pupil and was brought up and trained by him. When the Khwāja took leave for Cābul, Faizī found the date of this event in the words ‘دام ڦاله’ which are used for no less respectable a person than one's father or guardian. One of his marvellous compositions is a ‘qasīda’ which he wrote and presented to Akbar on the occasion of Jahāngīr's birth in 977 A.H. It was considered as a masterpiece of surpassing skill ever designed by any one before him. The author himself seemed proud of its production, and challenged his colleagues (in the 13th verse) saying that no one from among the court poets could bring as a present anything better than that. It is so arranged throughout that the first hemistich of every line gives the year of Akbar's accession to the throne, while the second does that of Jahāngīr's birth. This shows the progress made in the art of chronogram so ardently taken up under the Mughal patronage :

لله الحمد از په جاه و جلال شهر یار
گوهر مجدد از محیط عدل آمد در کنا

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 348.

NOTE.—The same with a high tribute of praise has been produced by Jahāngīr, with slight variants, in his Tuzuk, p. 3, ‘Aligarh, 1864. Cf. his remark :

اما خواجه حسین مردی از قدرت طبع وحدت نهم تصیده گفته که
کارنامه سخنوران توان دانست

طائے از آشیان جاہ و جود آمد شروع
 کوکبے از اوچ عزو ناز گردید آشکار
 گلبنے اینگونه ننمودند بر دو، چمن
 لالہ زینگونه نکشود از میان لالہ زا،
 شاد شد دلها که بازار آسمان عدل و داد
 باز دنیا زنده شد کنز مهر ایام بهار
 آن هلال برج قدر وجود و جاه آمد بپروں
 وان نهال آرزوے جان شاه آمد بپار
 شاه اقلیم وغا سلطان ایوان صفا
 شمع جمع بیدلان کام دل امیدوار
 عادل کامل محمد اکبر صاحبقران
 پادشاه نامدار کام جوے و کامگار
 کامل داناے قابل اعدل شاعان بدعا
 عادل اعلاء عاقل بیعدیل روذگار
 سایۂ لطف الله آن لایق تاج و نگین
 پادشاه دین پناہ آن عادل عالم مدار
 مجلس ویرا سماء چار میں داں عوہ سوز
 موکب ویرا سماک رامح آمد نیرہ دار
 نیر برج وجودے گوئر دریاے جود
 از عواۓ اوچ دلها شاه باز و جان شکار
 پادشاها سلک لولوے نفیس آوردة ام
 هدیۂ کان گرامی باز جویان گوشدار

کس نیاره هدیه زین ده اگر داره کسیه
 هر که آرد گو بیما چیزے که داره گو بیمار
 مصرع اول ذوے سال جلومن پادشاه
 از دویم مولود نور دیده عالم برآر
 تا بود باقی حساب دوزعما ماه سال
 وان حساب از سال و ماه دروز د و ران پایدار
 شاه ما پاینده باد و باقی آن شهزاده هم
 دوزھا بیحساب و سالها بیشمار

The work is different from Khwāndāmīr's Humāyūn Nāma, already noticed under Bābur. It was not written during Humāyūn's lifetime, but after his death by an unknown poet of his or his successor's court. This is evident from the fact that Humāyūn is nowhere mentioned by name but by his posthumous title 'jannat āshyanī' while Akbar is mentioned as the ruling monarch. It is written after the style and metre of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* commencing with the verse :

شیء خاطرم بود فارغ ذ خواب^۱
 دل از دور اشراق شد کامیاب

Eight folios in the beginning and many at the end after 65b are missing. The author has attempted to follow Firdausī closely and to identify himself with him in the subject-matter. This is

^۱ Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 9a.

[CHAPTER I]

[CHAPTER II]

[CHAPTER III]

[CHAPTER IV]

Br̄hps ltherfyrst history opBr̄hps ltherfyrst history opBr̄hps ltherfyrst history op
betMughals bf Indiānghah etMughals bf Indiānghah etMughals bf Indiānghah
sicfjodansōn Shahliñs nōpicfjodansōn Shahliñs nōpicfjodansōn Shahliñs nō
ek to idphiee dñshenñyñrtek to idphiee dñshenñyñrtek to idphiee dñshenñyñrte
tical It is tative of Hñ historical It is tative of Hñ historical It is tative of Hñ his
ati' batñlesh isndredepñjñt' batñlesh isndredepñjñt' batñlesh isndredepñjñt'
hich languages erfficiently hich la aga eserfficiently hich la aga eserfficiently
onthy of offitcontentA smonthy of offitcontentA smonthy of offitcontentA is
as follows : as follows : as follows : as

ors upIto Ilmñy successors upIto Ilmñy successors upIto Ilmñy successors
on tqIndisbarñ dipetition tqIndisbarñ dipetition tqIndisbarñ dipetition
n Ibrāhim Içdy at Bñsñptn Ibrāhim Içdy at Bñsñptn Ibrāhim Içdy at Bñsñptn
Neyb. cætñdr' tollHñmñ- Nqyr. cætñdr' tollHñmñ- Nqyr. cætñdr' tollHñmñ-
arrying to AgnandBñbñarrying to AgnandBñbñarrying to AgnandBñbñ
his successor in Hñmñy of his successor in Hñmñy of his successor in Hñmñy of

and his death. and his death. and his death.
natiop Helløyed'sbycoronatiop Helløyed'sbycoronatiop Helløyed'sbycoro
Great rejoicing in the Great rejoicing in the Great rejoicing in the
gifts given and robes of gifts given and robes of gifts given and robes of

ed. honour conferred. honour conferred. honour conferred.
Sultn Bñbñdñ Gujrat Sultn Bñbñdñ Gujrat Sultn Bñbñdñ Gujrat
n. The latter' shewñrah. The latter' shewñrah. The latter' shewñrah
møyñ's defeat and flightmøyñ's defeat and flightmøyñ's defeat and flight

Birth across Akberind Birth across Akberind Birth across Akberind
'Umarköt. 'Umarköt. 'Umarköt.
Tukristan His Qazññhice and Tukristan His Qazññhice and Tukristan His Qazññhice and
it with Kägazn. Refight with Kägazn. Refight with Kägazn. Refight
the latter. and pardon of the latter. and pardon of the latter. and pardon of the
for astrology and thate for astrology and thate for astrology and thate

VIII. His second expedition to Hindūstān. His battles with the Afghāns and Sikandar. Humāyūn's victory and accession to the throne.

The author has at places imitated Firdausī so closely in loftiness of expression, beauty of language and daintiness of similes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish which is which. He must be a great poet indeed from among the very best poets of Humāyūn's or Akbar's reign.¹ Some of his lines by way of sample are quoted below from the B. M. codex :—

Lines on Humāyūn's communication and fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī :—

شندم ز دانا دل هوشمند
که عاقل نکواهد بکس ناپسند
خصوصاً با قوام، خویش و تبار
که نقصان ایشان بود ننگ و عار

¹ Shibli on the alleged authority of Badāūnī states that Nazīrī, the famous lyric poet of Akbar's reign, had undertaken to write an epic poem entitled "Shāh Nāma i Humāyūnī," which remained unfinished, at the suggestion of Bairām Khān. [Shi'r-ul-'Ajam, Vol. III, p. 4.]

I was unable to discover the reference in Badāūnī, under both Nazīrī and Bairām Khān. Shibli has evidently confused Nazīrī, with Manzari, a less important poet, who, according to Badāūnī had undertaken the task. [Vide Vol. III, pp. 340-41] Badāūnī has also quoted one verse as sample which I could not find in the B. M. codex.

همای همایون عزت شعار
 نمی خواست عاری بخویش و تبار
 فرستاد سوے بهادر پیام
 که بادا ترا عیش و عشرت مدام
 بفرمان روانی شدی سرفراز
 بتقویت شاه دعلی طراز
 یقین نعمت از شکر افزون شود
 زناشکری از دست بیرون شود
 اگر سر تو بیچی ز فرمان بربی
 تو بینی سرانجام این داوری
 من از حسن الطاف کردم پیام
 تو دانی دگر بعد ازین والسلام
 بهادر چو این نامه را کرده گوش
 در آمد چو فایخردان در خروش
 بگفتا بمنشی نویس این جواب
 که آتش فرورد ز دریاے آب
 چو فارغ شد از عرض ان عرضه داشت
 بنوک زبان تخم ادبی کاشت
 بهادر چو بسیار مستی نمود
 بنا گفتنیها زبان بر کشود
 بفرمان شاه زمین و زمان
 جهانی بتادیب او شد روای

در آمد غریبو دوا دو بماه
 به مند و رسیدند هر دو سپاه
 دو دریا سے لشکر بقصد مصاف
 بتمکین گرو برده از کوه قاف
 بدہ ساقیا باده از جام هوش
 که هر کس ازو جرעה کرد نوش
 شہنشاه انجم به نیلی حصار
 در آمد چو از هیبت کارزار
 فلک پرده از اطلس شب کشید
 پیش مشورت شاه خلوت گردید
 سران سپه جمله جمع آمدند
 چو پروانها گرد شمع آمدند
 که شمع که خورشید رفت حباب
 به پروانگی یافت از وے خطاب
 سپهر سخا شاه دریا نوال
 که در وصف او ناطقه ماند لال
 سحاب کرم را درر بار کرد
 جهان را پر از در شهوار کرد

Lines on Humāyūn's march from 'Irāq to Qandhār, and the capture of its fortress.

^۱ سکرگه که خاقان خاور سپاه
 برآمد ازین نیلگون بارگاه

¹ Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 25a.
F, 15

چو انجم ازین چرخ نیلوفری
 نه عسکر بجا ماند و نه عسکری
 و لیکن به قلعه ۵، آمد بران
 دل خلق را سوخت مانند داع
 چو قلعه باز ترک سرکش فتاد
 خود گفت در قلعه آتش فتاد
 ولی آنچنان آتش برفروخت
 که مانند دشمن دل دوست سوخت
 بسان خزینه دفینه قمام
 شدی مجلس اراده هر خاص و عام
 خزینه خرابات سان شد خراب
 نز سرخ هر سو دوان چون شراب

CHAPTER IV

The greater part of Humāyūn's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The extent of progress made by Urdū in his

Progress of
Urdū in Humā-
yūn's reign. reign is hardly ascertainable due to the scantiness of material, but there

could be no doubt that the same was progressing steadily in the whole of Upper Hindūstān, including the Punjab and the Gujarāt. The appearance of Hindi-Persian poets in increasing numbers is a good testimony of the gradual hold of Hindi over Persian, and their mutual growth and free play with each other. An evidence of same is to be found in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humāyūn in his fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarāti. When Humāyūn led an attack on Mālwa in 942 A.H., Sultān Bahādur, better known as Bahādur Shāh, at the advice of his faithless General Rūmī Khān, unwisely took refuge in the fort outside the city, instead of meeting his enemy face to face in battle. The siege lasted for several weeks till at last Humāyūn's officers, who had secretly won over Rūmī Khān to their side, began to intercept the supplies of food sent to Bahādur Shāh which weakened the position of the besieged a great deal. In addition to this treachery, Rūmī Khān one night caused his men to set fire to the royal magazine, and this was followed by an attack from Humāyūn's troops who eventually entered the fort unmolested. Thus Bahādur Shāh was overcome

and fled to Gujārāt for his life. He had a favourite bird—a tūtī which repeated what it heard like a human being. When it was brought to Humāyūn in the open court, Rūmī Khān also was invited by the king to be present. On Rūmī Khān's entering the court, Humāyūn courteously said, "خوش بیاند دوست خان" (welcome Rūmī Khān). The bird hearing his name screamed aloud "پہت پاپی دوست خان نمکھرام پہت پاپی نمکھرام" (Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt). All amazed, and Humāyūn said :—

چکنم دوستی خان حیف که جانور است سزاوار
عقوبت نیست إلا زبانش از دهانش بر می کندم —

What can I do Rūmī Khān, alas, it is a bird, otherwise I would have pulled its tongue from its mouth.

The speech of the bird is a curious combination of Hindi, Persian and Arabic words, systematically arranged and put in a sentence.¹ This is perhaps the best example of Urdū that could be traced in the reign of Humāyūn, and serves to show how people were accustomed to talk in their homes and on private occasions. Of the many

¹ Mirāti Sikandarī MSS., dated 1087 A.H., fol. 107a.

² Ibid., fol. 108b.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Phit and Pāpī are Hindi, and namak Persian, compounded with harām, Arabic. Also cf. a similar instance of a parrot speaking Persian cited under Bābur. [Supra, p. 76.]

poets cited under Humāyūn, Badāūnī has referred to some who composed both in Hindī and Persian.

A definite advance made by Urdu, under Hindu-Muslim cultivation of each other's literature.

On the same authority we learn that their hybrid composition had found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions sung before Humāyūn. Thus the already existing relations between Hindī and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humāyūn than under Bābur. Both the Hindūs and the Muslims now appear to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in the cultivation but also in the use of each other's literature. The Muslims though from the very beginning showed no such bias in the acquisition of Hindi language, yet they had not taken to do it so freely as they did now. The Hindūs too in their turn, owing to their unavoidable social and political relations with the Muslims, were doing the same. The Rājpūt Princes and the Hindū Rājās, for holding necessary communications with the Muslim conquerors, kept at their courts a special staff well-equipped to deal with the original Persian documents. In certain cases where the papers were of a confidential nature, the Rājās themselves used to attend to them. Similarly the Muslims behaved and kept a competent staff

Faked Hindī letters of Rājās to Shēr Shāh, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter.

ready at hand to cope with Hindī correspondence. A good instance of the Rājās' writing to Shēr Shāh fictitious letters in Hindī with their forged replies in Persian, which were purposely

thrown in the way of Rājā Māldeo, as a trap, and picked up and read by the latter personally, is to be found in the following:—

راجهها فرصت یافته نزد شیر شاه آمدند و بمشورت
 شیر شاه کتابات از زبان امراء مالدیو بخط هندوی
 بشیر شاه نوشتند که ما بنابر ضرورت درین مدت
 اطاعت مالدیو میکردیم.....هرگاه لشکر ظفر اثر اسلام
 نزدیک برسد ما از راجه مالدیو جدا شده بمکب
 =مالی ملحق میگردیم و بر وفق همان مکاتیب نیز از
 زبان شیر شاه نوشتند که انشاء الله تعالیٰ بعد از فتح
 و مغلوبیت مالدیو شمارا معزز و مکرم داشته جمیع اقطاع
 موروثی آباو اجداد شما را بشما ارزانی میدارم.....پس
 آن کتابات مزور را بلطفایف الحیل بدست مالدیو
 انداختند و مالدیو که همیشه از زمینداران و امراء
 خود اندیشه، دغدغه در خاطر داشت از مطالعه
 مکاتیب هراسان شده..... و کوههایا، دیگر امراء
 او هر چند نصیحت کردند سودمند نیفتاد -

The Rājās obtaining opportunity came to Shēr Shāh, and in consultation with him wrote letters to him from the tongue of the *Umarā* of Māldeo in Hindi script, saying, "We through necessity did homage to Māldeo up till now. When the victorious army of Islām will reach near, we, having separated ourselves from Rājā Māldeo, will join your

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, pp. 426-427.

Majesty's forces." And in accordance with these letters they also wrote from the tongue of Shēr Shāh stating "God willing, after our victory and subjection of Māldeo, I will hold you in honour and esteem, and will reinstate you in all your ancestral possessions." Thereafter they made those false letters fall through clever devices into the hands of Māldeo. And Māldeo who always entertained fear and anxiety in his heart against his Zamindārs and *Umarā* got terrified on perusing those letters and Kūnhaiyā and other nobles, however much they counselled him, it proved of no avail.

As a result of this harmony and interalliance,
 Growth of Muslim poets of Hindī language on
 Muslim poets of Hindī language and Hindū writers of
 Hindū writers of Persian on the one hand, and Hindū writers of
 Persian on the other, sprang up in
 ever so large numbers under the
 patronage of the later Mughal em-
 perors.

During Humāyūn's absence from India the same feature prevailed in the reign of Shēr Shāh, and the number of such poets as composed both in Hindī and Persian kept multiplying. The Muslim interest in Hindī literature under Shēr Shāh is evidently more marked than before, due perhaps to his own predilections for Hindī. The appearance of a renowned poet of Hindī language, Malik Muhammad Jā'isi, who is described under Shēr Shāh marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India. It is a notable

departure from the old customary traditions of mixing Hindi with Persian, for his poems were composed in terse Hindi almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.



SHER SHĀH SEATED ON HIS THRONE.

[*From an album of Pathān kings.*]

CHAPTER V

A portion of the period of Humāyūn's rule is covered by Shēr Shāh who held undisputed sway of Hindūstān for five years during Humāyūn's exile. His real name was Farīd, and his title 'Sher Khān' which was conferred upon him by Sultān Muhammad, ruler of Behār, due to the extraordinary valour shown by Farīd in killing a tiger. On his defeating Humāyūn and ascending the throne at Delhi, he changed 'Sher Khān' into 'Shēr Shāh.' His grandfather, Ibrāhīm Sūr, had come down to India from Afghānistān in the reign of Sultān Bahlōl Lōdī, and served under him in various capacities. After Ibrāhīm's death, his son Hasan Sūr took service under Jamāl Khān, an influential noble of Sikandar Lōdī's court, and received as 'jāgir' the important 'parganās' of Sahsrām and Khawāspūr which remained for long a bone of contention between Farīd and his brothers.

In his early youth he had left his home, through domestic unpleasantness, for Jaunpūr, where he busied himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and acquired a taste for history and literature. He studied Arabic grammar up to 'Kāfiya' and sundry works of Persian poets like Sa'dī and Nizāmī :

His literary attainment and patronage of letters.

^۲ فرید بتقریب نامهربانی پدر و خصوصت برادران
جداشده ترک نوکری جمال خان نموده چندگاه در جونپور
به تحصیل علوم و کسب کمالات میگزانید تا آنکه
کتاب کافیه را باحواشی و دیگر مختصرات خواند و
از کتب سواد گلستان و بوستان و سکندرنامه و غیرآن
نیز استحضار گرفت و پیرامون خوانق و مدارس گشته
در صحبت علماء مشایخ کبار آن دیار به تهدیب
اخلاق مشغول شد -

Farid due to the unkindness of his father and the enmity of his brothers, having separated from them, and resigned his service under Jamāl Khān, passed some time at Jaunpūr in gathering knowledge and the acquirement of perfections, till the time he read 'Kāfiya' with commentaries and other compendiums. And he also read the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, and *Sikandar Nāma* and other works besides, and having approached monasteries and schools, he busied himself in the purification of morals in the society of the learned and the great Shaikhs of that locality.

و در فن تاریخ نیز باوقوف شد - ^۲

^۱ *Badā'īnī*, Vol. I, 357.

Also, refer Qānūngō's life of Shēr Shāh.

^۲ *Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī* (bound with Nafā'i's *ul Ma'āsir*),
B.M.MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 126a.

And in the branch of history as well he became conversant.

Like his predecessor, Sultān Sikandar Lōdī, he patronised the students of Arabic and Persian literature, and attached great importance to educational merit in all public services.

A young student of Arabic rewarded by Shēr Shāh for correct answers to questions on Arabic grammar. In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him¹ and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and participating in same. Once a Qāzī of his court, who was accompanied by a young student, came to see him. The keen interest evinced by the latter in the youth and the patronage shown to him is described as follows :

جوانی باقاضی همراه - شیرشاہ از قاضی پرسید
که این همراهی شما میدانم که خویشی بشما داشته
باشد اما همچنین فضیلت هم دارد قاضی گفت طالبعلم
است کافیه میخواهد شیرشاہ چون کافیه را با حواشی
درست بخاطر داشت ازان طالبعلم پرسید که عمر
منصرفست یا غیر منصرف طالبعلم عرض نمود که غیر
منصرفست شیرشاہ فرمود که بچه دلیل طالبعلم از روی
فهمیدگی بدلایل معقولی جواب هوشمندانه بداد

¹ Cf. شیرشاہ خود طعام با علماء و مشائخ می خورد [Tārīkh-i Dā'udī, B.M. MSS. Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

Also Cf. در خدمت افغان کرام و مشائخ عظام پرسنسته Bāgh i Ma'āni, *ut supra*.

² Ibid., fol. 80a.

شیرشاہ فرمود که پانصد بیگہ زمین و پانصد روپیہ
 نقد باو بدھند طالبعلم عرض نمود که بندہ یک
 قابلیت دیگر ھم دارد شیرشاہ فرمود که کدام قابلیت
 است گفت حافظ کلام ربانی ام شیرشاہ فرمود که
 پانصد بیگہ و پانصد روپیہ دیگر بھی بیفرزایند مقارن
 آن حالت از طالبعلم پرسید که موافق قابلیت خود
 معاش و زر نقد یافتی عرض نمود کہ بلے یافتمن کرم
 پادشاہانہ نیافتمن شیر شاہ فرمود که پانصد بیگہ
 زمین و پانصد روپیہ نقد دیگر بیفرزایند -

A youth accompanied the Qāzī. Shēr Shāh asked the Qāzī, "I presume that this comrade of yours bears some relationship with you, but does he possess any merit also"? The Qāzī replied, "The youth is a student, and reads 'Kāfiya.' Shēr Shāh, since he had retained in his recollection the 'Kāfiya' with its correct commentaries, asked that student, "Is 'Umar 'munsarif' or 'ghair munsarif'?" The student replied, 'ghair munsarif.' Shēr Shāh said, "With what argument?" The student gave an intelligent answer with his arguments based on logical reasoning. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 'bigah' of land and 500 rupees cash be given to him. The student said, "I possess one more merit." Shēr Shāh asked, "What is that?" The student replied, "I retain in my memory the Divine book." Shēr Shāh ordered that

500 'bigah' and 500 rupees more be added to his share. Simultaneously with that, he asked the student, "Did you get the means of living and the cash money according to your merits?" The student replied, "Yes, I got them, but I have not yet received the generosity of the king." Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 'bigah' of land and 500 rupees cash more be added.

He had a good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Hindī under the pen-name 'Farīd.' The following Persian verse of his own composition was his monogram which he got inscribed on his seal.

شہ اللہ باقی ترا باد دایم^۱
بمان شیر شہ بن حسن سو قایم

God keep thee king for ever,
Live in peace Shēr Shāh, son of Hasan Sūr.

On one occasion when Humāyūn's army in a contest with Shēr Shāh was completely routed and many of the soldiers and notable officers were drowned in

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

NOTE.—The author of Tārikh i Dā'ūdī puts the first hemistich as follows :

شہ اللہ باقی بر اد باد دایم

God, the king, (or, God, the Eternal King), may remain
over him always.

[Ibid., B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

the river while crossing same, Shēr Shāh composed a very opportune quatrain as follows :

'خدا يا تو انا تو نگر توئي
تو انا سے درويش بور توئي
فريد حسن را تو شاهي دعوي
سپاه همایون بماهی دعوي

O God, Mighty and Rich art Thou,
Thou art the Mighty Supporter of the poor ;
Thou givest royalty to Farīd, son of Hasan,
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fish.

In his composition he followed the current Indian style which was on the lines of flowery Persian.

، شعر فارسي بروش مردم هندوستان گفته^۲

And Persian verses he composed after the manner of the people of Hindūstān.

He also composed verses in Hindi and was a patron of Hindi poetry. The chief Hindi and Persian poets of his court were respectively Malik Muhammad Jā'i'sī (the author of Padumāwat), and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh.

There is a Persian-Arabic verse of his as follows :

¹ Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'āni (bound with Nafāis ul Ma'āsir)
B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 130a.

² Tarīkh i Dī'ūdī, B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.

بَا مَا چَهْ كَرَدْ دِيدِي مُلُوْ غَلَامْ گَيْدِي^۱
قُولِيْسِتْ مَصْطَفَى، اَلَا خَيْرْ فِي الْعَبْدِي

With us what did Mullū do ? the slave, the
cursed,
The Prophet has said, “ There is no good in
slaves.”

He evinced good taste and fine poetic humour on many occasions. Once on being told that his beard had grown white, he replied that it was true, since he wore the crown towards the evening of his life.

He died while storming the fort of Kālinjar in 952 A.H., through the bursting of an enemy rocket His death. which caused a fire in the magazine. The date of his death was found in the most suggestive phrase “ز آتش،” in the following chronogram composed by one of his court poets.

شیرشاہ آنکھ از مهابت او^۲
شیر و بز آب را بھ میخورو

^۱ Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 365.

NOTE.—Shēr Shāh had composed this verse on the occasion when Mullū Khān, ruler of Mālwa playing false, had one night surreptitiously disappeared from Shēr Shāh's camp, although the latter had shown him great favour and taken him into confidence.

Farishta attributes the second hemistich to Shaikh 'Abdul Hai who had composed it offhand to match with Shēr Shāh's first hemistich. [Farishta, Vol. I, p. 425.] The same is corroborated by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad : Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 231.]

^۲ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

از جهان رفت گفت پیر خرد
سال تاریخ او، ز آتش مرد

Shēr Shāh is he through whose terror,
The lion and the goat drank water together ;
He went away from the world ; old Wisdom
uttered,
The year of his death, "from the fire he died."

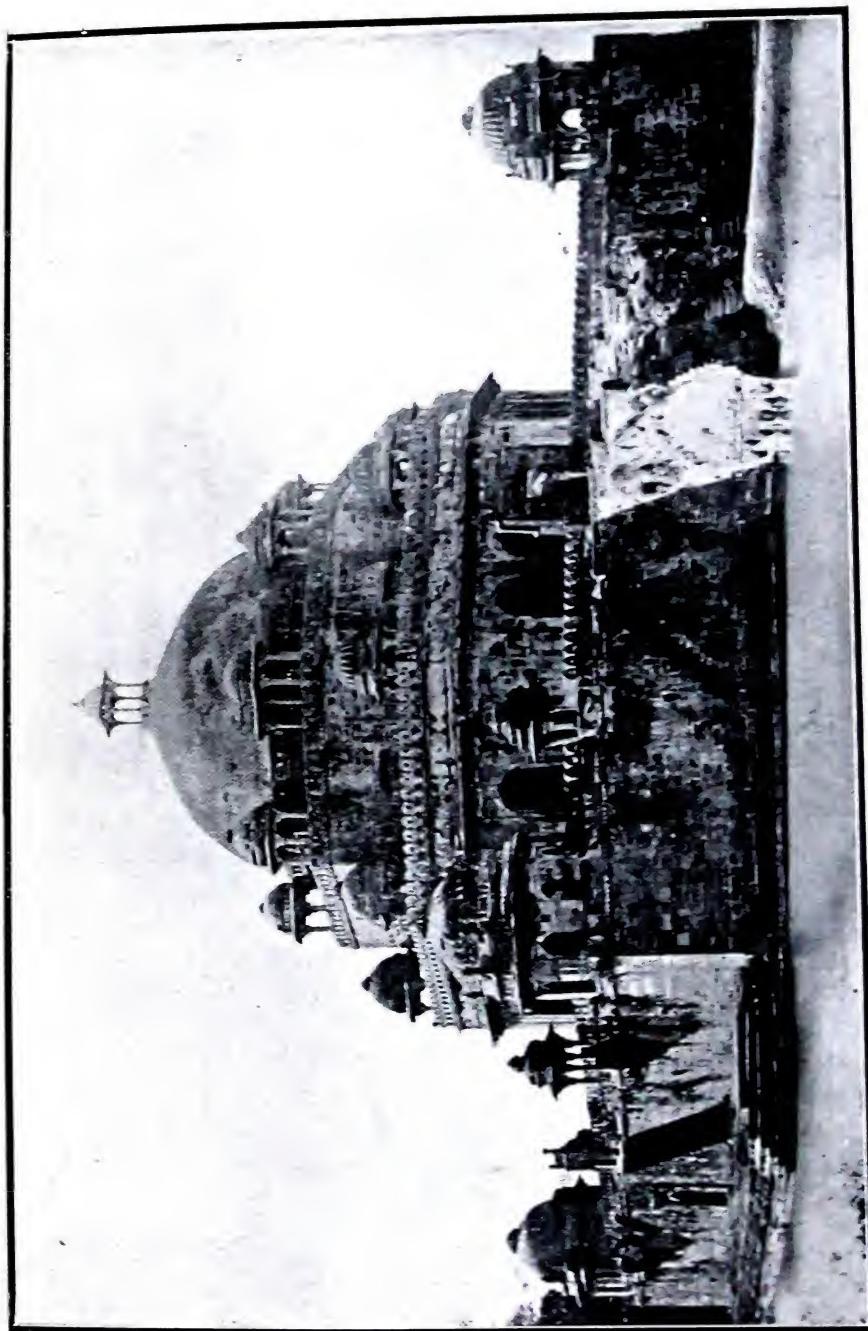
Historians are unanimously agreed that Shēr Shāh was a just, wise, and capable monarch, and his reign was distinguished for peace and Badāūni's tranquillity. Badāūni congratulates himself on his birth having taken place in the reign of a just monarch like Shēr Shāh' in the following words which shower a most glowing tribute of praise that could ever be paid to any Muslim king :

و بحمد الله كه در زمان اينچه ملکي كما قال النبي
عليه السلام انا ولدت في زمان الملك العادل تولد صاحب
اين منتخب در هفتدهم شهر ربیع الثانی در سنه سبع
اربعين و تسعين و واقع شد -

And God be praised that in the regime of such a king as said by the Prophet (may peace be upon him), "I was born in the reign of a just monarch," the birth of the author

¹ This encomium of Badāūni is significant since he had no word of praise for his own sovereign, Akbar, by whom he was patronised.

² Badāūni, Vol. I, p. 363.



Tomb of Sher Shah AT SASRAM
Dt. SASRAM, BENGAL.

of this 'Muntakhab' took place on the 17th of the month of *Rabi'us Sānī* in the year 947 A.H.

Farishta holds the same view of Shēr Shāh's just and peaceful administration and says that he performed many deeds of public good in building Cārvānsarās for the Hindūs and the Muslims alike on the main roads from Bengāl to the Indus (a distance of 1500 kōs), and from Āgra to Māndū (a distance of 300 kōs), requisitioning them with plentiful supplies of food and provision, and making these routes perfectly safe for journey :

و در هر يك کروه سراے ساخته جاه و مسجد از
خشت پخته و گنج پرداخته مؤذن و مقري و امامي مقرر
نموده آنها را وظيفه معين کرده و در هر سراے يك دروازه
طعام پخته و خام برای مسلمانان و دروازه دیگر کذلک
برای هندوان مقرر نموده و در عهدش امنیت
بمرتبه بود که متعددین در صحرا و بیابان هرجا میرسیدند
از کالا خود اندیشه نکرده بفراغت می غنودند گویند
اگر زالی با سبدی پر از طلا در صحرا شبها خواب کردی
حاجت پاسبان اصلا نبودی اکثر اوقات خود را
صرف کار خلائق کرده و سر انعام سپاه و تیمار رعایا
بواجبی نمودی و بر طریقہ عدل و داد استقامت داشتی -

And at the end of every kōs he got built a Sarāi, a mosque, and a well, from lime and

¹ Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

baked brick. He appointed a ‘*mu’azzin*,’ a reader of the Qur’ān, and an *Imām*, and fixed gratuities for each of them. And in every *Sarāi* he fixed one gate for cooked food and rations for the Muslims, and another similar gate for the Hindūs. And in his reign such was the public security that travellers in jungle and desert, wherever they reached, went to sleep without apprehension for their property. It is said that if an old woman with a tray full of gold slept at nights in a desert there was no need for a watch at all. Often he devoted himself to public service and duly attended to the affairs of his army and the welfare of his subjects, and persevered in the path of equity and justice.

He is a most important poet of the court of Shēr Shāh. He combined the Sanskrit and Persian scholarship with poetic attainments, and was regarded as a Sūfi. He was patronised by Shēr Shāh whom he eulogised in his memorable Hindi poem, the ‘*Padumāvatī*’¹ which was a notable undertaking by a Muslim. It was

Malik Mu-
hammad Jā’isi
a poet of
epoch-making
significance.

¹ A woman of remarkable beauty, daughter of the Rājā of Ceylon, seized by the Rājā of Chittaur, and afterwards fell in possession of Sultān ‘Alā’uddin Khiljī. Her story is also written in Persian poetry by one Husain Ghaznawī. Another by Rai Gobind Munshi. Also in Urdū verse by the joint efforts of Mir Ziya’uddin ‘Ibrat, and Ghulām ‘Alī ‘Ishrat.



MALIK MUHAMMAD JĀ'ISĪ, THE RENOWNED
POET OF SHER SHĀH.

[Kindly lent by Prof. A. Qavi Fāni, M.A., Lucknow University.]

written in 947 A.H., in terse Hindi language occasionally mixed with Persian and easy Hindi words. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian characters for his text, an event of epoch-making significance in the history of both Hindi and Persian literatures in India :

"Malik Muhammad is, we believe, the oldest poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. The preservation of Padumāvatī is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muhammad's religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabir, and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore and with the Hindū Yōga philosophy, he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muhammadan co-religionists. He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān predilections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character, and hence discarded all the favourite devices of Pandits who tried to make their language correct by spelling vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of the 16th century."¹

¹ G. H. Grierson and Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhā Karan Dvivēdī, *Padumāvatī*, Vol. I, Introduction, Calcutta, 1911.

He was a disciple of two prominent Sūfis, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr and Sayyid Muhibbūddin,¹ whose praises he sang in his poems calling them as his masters and steersmen. He also poured unqualified praise on Shēr Shāh for his just and peaceful reign, and for his literary patronage. He is one of the three great Muslim poets of Hindi² who flourished in India in the 16th century A.D., and helped towards the formation and growth of modern Urdū the lingua franca of India.

¹ These two in their lifetimes had considerable influence over the people of Upper Hindūstān, and belonged to the Chishtiyya Nizāmiya order.

² The other two being Kabīr of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi (already described under Bābur), and Rahim of the reign of Akbar (to be discussed hereafter).

CHAPTER VI

He met his tragic death at Delhi in 963 A.H., by an accidental fall from the terrace of his library where he often retired in the afternoons to amuse himself with books.

Humāyūn's death. That evening also according to his wont, having examined his bookshelves, he walked on to the terrace to enjoy fresh air. Just when he was descending the staircase the '*mū'azzin*' gave a call to prayers, on hearing which he went down on his knees in holy reverence. When the '*azān*' was over, he rose supporting himself on a staff which unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and he fell down headlong several steps. He received great injuries in his head and arm, and was removed to his palace insensible. On the fifth day he expired.¹ Thus ended the life of one of the most

¹ Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have probably used the Turkī work '*Mir'āt ul Mamālik*' of Sidi 'Alī Reis who was then personally present at the court and describes the event with almost the same accuracy of detail as do Badāūnī and Abul Fazl, with the following notable differences :

(i) Sidi 'Alī Reis omits to say from what part or section of the castle Humāyūn fell; while Badāūnī and Abul Fazl make it quite clear by stating that the fall occurred from the building known as '*Kitāb Khāna*', (library).

humane monarchs of the Mughal dynasty, a lover of science and literature, and a character nobler than any to be found in the long line of the Mughal kings.

The court poets wrote chronograms each trying to excel the other in poetic grace and plainness. Of the numerous chronograms the best was of Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī quoted by Jauhar and reproduced on p. ۵۵ *supra*. Elegiac poems were also written

(ii) Sidi Ali Reis makes Humāyūn die on the fourth day of his fall. Cf. the statement :

حکم اللہ جمعہ کون اختتام نمازی و قنادہ پادشاہ دو شنبہ

ون دار حمتین جوار حمة انتقال ایدیبل -

[Mir'āt ul Mamālik, p. ۵۵]

while Abul Fazl on the fifth day; and Badāūnī on the ninth. Cf. the statement :

در تاریخ هفتم شهر ربیع الاول پادشاہ بر بالے بام تابستانه... بر

آمدند و در حین فرد آمدن... پاے ایشان بلغزید و از چند زینه

ایله غلطیده بزمین آمدند و در پانزدهم ماہ مذکور این عالم بیوقا را

درود کردد -

[Badāūnī, Vol. I, pp. 465-466]

I suspect that پازدھن is a misprint for پا زدھن. If so, the versions of Badāūnī and Abul Fazl tally with Jauha who, though gives no details, yet declares that the fall took place on the 7th and the death on the 11th.

^۱ Cf. Maulānā Hisāri's chronogram :

و اصل حق شد همایون پادشاہ

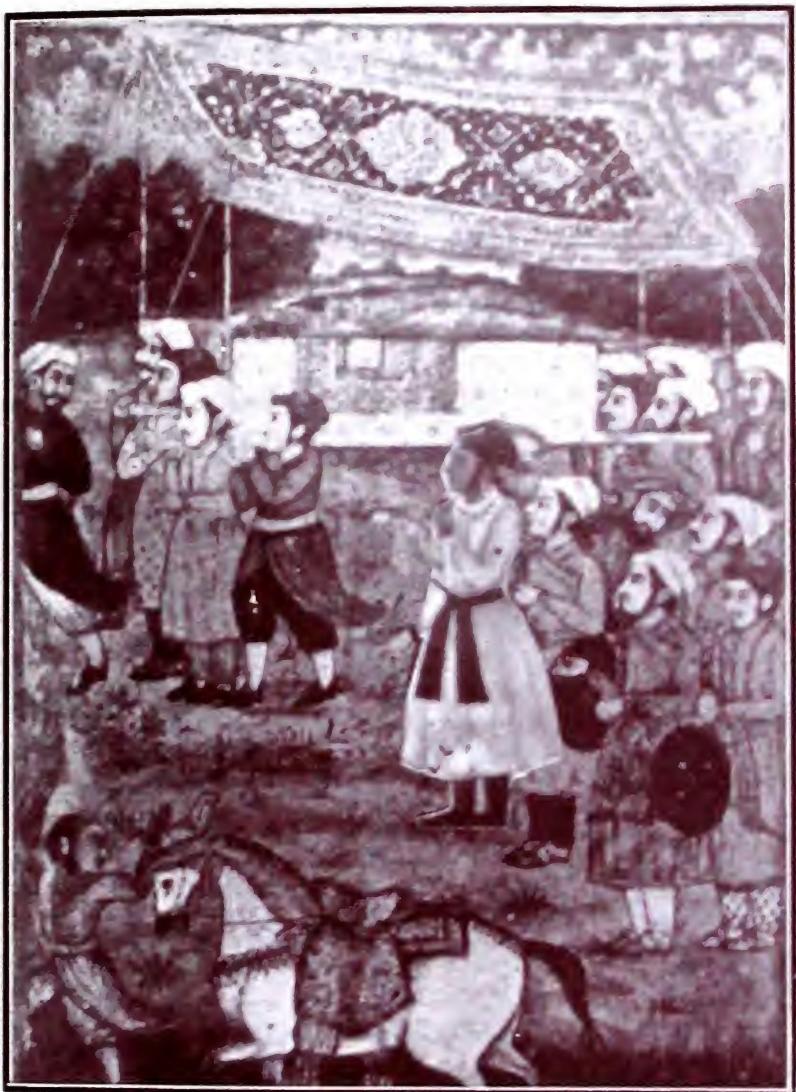
(Humāyūn Pādishāh united with God). Also Cf. Mī

و اے پادشاہ من از بام ا! قتاڈ

'Abdul Hai's

O alas! my king fell down from the terrace (Akba

Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368).



HUMĀYŪN'S REMAINS BEING CARRIED TO THE BURIAL GROUND :
THE YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR ACCOMPANYING THE CORTEGE.

[Acquired at Lucknow.]

f which the most touching was from the pen of
Khwāja Husain Mervī as follows :

اے دل صد اے مرگ ترا ہم شنیدنی ست^۱
 صبح اجل بطلع عمرت دمیدنی ست
 چوں کل نفس ذاتۃ الموت حکم شد
 میدان یقین کہ شربت مرگت چشیدنی ست
 ایں نام زندگی کہ نہ اند مر ترا
 نام ترا بطرف مماتت کشیدنی ست
 غرہ مشو بایں گل بستان زندگی
 باد خزان دریں گل و بستان و زندگی ست
 از گوش خویشتن شنوی کان فلاں نماند
 درگوش دیگران خبرت ہم رسیدنی ست

O heart, thou too hast to hear the call of
 death,
 The morn of death is to appear on the hori-
 zon of thy life ;
 Since it was ordained ‘ every soul must taste
 of death,’
 Know for certain that thou hast to taste the
 drink of death ;
 This name of life that they gave to thee,
 Is only to draw thy name towards death ;
 Do not pride thyself on this rose of the
 garden of life,

^۱ Ibid.

The wind of autumn has to blow in this rose
and the garden;
Thou hearest with thine own ears that a
certain one passed away,
In the ears of others thy news also has to go.

Humāyūn, unlike his father, was a monarch more of literary tendencies than of administrative. His wit and bent¹ and possessed a keen sense of humour hardly surpassed by any

¹ He was so fond of study that he took his books with him everywhere in his travels. Even in his flight under adverse circumstances he did not suffer to leave behind his library of which he took great care during all his journeys to and from Persia, across the deserts and in the thick of battles against his foes. Cf. his inquisitiveness about the same after his party was attacked by Kāmrān.

چون کامران میرزا جمیعی و علمهای خوب دید دانست که پادشاه
اسه بیکبارگی حمله کرد و درون قلعه طالقان درآمد.....حضرت خیر
از تباشانه پرسید عرض کردند که حالت اسه -

Since Kāmrān Mirzā saw a large crowd with banners he thought it was his Majesty and attacked at once, and entered the fort of Tāliq-n. His Majesty enquired about the library. They replied that it was quite safe. (Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 99a.) Also cf., his delight at receiving books presented to him by a Persian noble at Zankān near Tabriz:

و حسین قلی میرزا برادر احمد سلطان از مشهد بیدن والده
و برادران آمده بود که رخصت مکه متعثمه حاصل نماید بندگان
حضرت را ملزم کرد کتاب چند نه داشت پیشکش نمود از
تباها انچه خوش آمدند گرفتند و تتمه را باو بخشدند -

other monarch of his line. In his display and appreciation of wit he may be compared to his ancestor Timūr; in his love for science to Ullūgh Bēg; and in his poetic insight to Jahāngīr. A few instances of same are quoted below:

وَ قَرْجَهُ خَانَ رَا شَمْشِيرَ دَرَ گَرْدَنَ كَرْدَهُ آورَدَندَ چُونَ
 بِمُشْعَلَ كَهْ نَزَدِيَكَ دَرَ بَارَ بَوَدَ رَسِيدَ حَكْمَ كَرْدَنَدَ كَهْ چُونَ
 مَرَدَ رِيشَ سَفَيَدَ اَسْتَ وَهَدَ رَهَمَ گَفَّتَهُ اَيَمَ شَمْشِيرَ اَزَ گَرْدَنَ
 اوَ بَرَدَارَنَدَ..... بَعْدَ اَزاَنَ حَسِينَ قَلَى سَلْطَانَ مَهْرَ دَارَ
 اَيَنَ بَيْتَ رَا خَواَنَدَ
 چَرَاغَهُ رَا كَهْ اَيَزَنَ بَرَ فَرَوْزَنَ
 هَرَ آنَکَوَ تَفَ زَنَدَ رِيشَشَ بَسَوْزَنَ
 وَ قَرْجَهُ خَانَ چُونَ رِيشَ دَرَازَ دَاشَتَ اَيَنَ بَيْتَ بَمَحَلَ وَاقَعَ
 شَدَ حَضُورَتَ اَزَيَنَ سَخَنَ كَمَالَ خَوْشَحَالَيَ نَمَوْنَدَ -

And they brought Qarjā Khān with sword hung round his neck. When he reached the torch which was near the *Audience Hall*,

And Husain Qulī Mīrzā, brother of Ahmad Sultān, who had come from Mashad to see his mother and brothers to obtain leave for Mecca, interviewed his Majesty, and presented some books which he possessed. Out of these books his Majesty took some which pleased him and gave back the rest.

(Tārikh-i-Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 3b.)
 Also cf., his death by a fall from the terrace of his library to which he repaired in the afternoons for his mental recreation.

¹ Ibid., foll. 36b and 37a.

Humāyūn ordered that as Qarjā Khān was grey-haired and we had also perjured his blood, the sword should be removed from his neck. After this Husain Qulī Sultān, the seal-bearer, recited this verse :

The lamp which is lit by God,
Whoever puffs at it his beard burns.

And since Qarjā Khān had a long beard this verse came opportune. His Majesty enjoyed this wit in the extreme.

Another instance of his ready wit is to be found in the following :

شیخ علی بیگ بهبود چوبدار را گفت که مبارکبادی
بحضرت پادشاه رفته بده بهبود مذکور دوام شد
نظر حضرت بربس سوار افتاده پرسیدند که کدام سوار
اینکه می آید مردم بقیاس عرض کردند که بهبود چوبدار
باشد حضرت پادشاه تفاؤل بشارت نیک گرفت و فرمودند
که انشاء الله بهبود خواهد بود -

Shaikh 'Ali Bēg asked Bihbūd Chūbdār to go and congratulate his Majesty. The aforesaid Bihbūd started off. The eye of his Majesty fell on this rider and he asked, "Who is this rider that cometh"? People by mere guess replied that he might be 'Bihbūd' Chūbdār. His Majesty took this to be a good omen and said, "God be pleased, it would be '*bihbūd*'" (i.e., it would turn out good).

¹ Tazkirat ul Wāqi'at, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 48b.

On one occasion Humāyūn composed a 'qit'a' in which he very beautifully played on the word چتور (*chitaур*), and sent it on to Sultān Bahādur Gujarāti :

۱۔ کہ ہستی غنیم شہر چتور
کافران را چطور میگیری
پادشاہی رسید بر سر تو
تو ذشستہ چتور میگیری

O thou who art the enemy of the city of
Chitaур,

How (*chitaур*) wilt thou capture the un-
believers ?

A king has reached over thy head,
Sitting, art thou taking Chitaур ?

¹ *Farishta*, Vol. I, p. 399.

Cf., Bahādur Shāh's reply :

من کہ ہتم غنیم شہر چتور * کافران را بطور میگیرم
هر کے بکند حمایت چتور * تو بیس کھل چطور میگیرم

I, who am the enemy of Chitaур,
Will capture the infidels by force ;
Whoever stands in defence of Chitaур,
Thou may'st see how I capture him also.

It may be observed that Bahādur's reply is only a repetition of Humāyūn's wit, and carries no originality or improvement upon the latter,

He was a monarch of great humanity and possessed of very noble traits of character.¹ He was disposed to spend his time more in literary and peaceful concerns than aggression and military tactics on the battlefield.

Points in his character partly responsible for political crisis in his administration, and his forced flight to Persia.

His gentlest behaviour towards his brothers² through whose undisguised hostility he suffered

¹ Cf. Shāh Tahmāsp's remark about Humāyūn's character on his interceding for the pardon and release of two of his enemies who had poisoned the Shāh's mind against him, and were eventually convicted for the offence :

چون رقمه و سید و خوانند حضرت همه عالم پناه در تعجب شدند
و فرمودند که محمد همایون پادشاه چه حلم دارد این مردم در پی
آزار و سے بودند درینه لا شفاعت ایشان میکند -

When the letter reached and the Shāh read it, he became astonished and said, "What clement disposition does Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh possess! These people were seeking his injury, but he intercedes for them. [Jauhar, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 79a.]

Also cf. his reply to the counsel of one of his officers to take possession of Rāja Māldeo's territory where Humāyūn's party was then taking shelter and had procured plentiful supply of grain and water:

اگر بفرض پادشاهی دوے زمین بدھند من اینچینیں کار قبیع
کفران نمی کنم

If they were to give me the kingship of the whole world, I will not commit so foul a deed or be guilty of such ingratitude. [Ibid.]

² Cf. his reply to the counsel of his Generalissimo importunitating him to kill Kāmrān who was in intrigue with Shēr Shāh, and seeking to dispossess Humāyūn of his kingdom :

exile and reverses in his fights with Shēr Shāh, is a glorious chapter in history and a splendid trait in his character. One sublime example of his tender, grateful, and generous nature, is to be found in the munificent reward that he gave to a poor water-carrier who had helped him with a sheep-skin when his horse had slipped from underneath him in crossing the Ganges at Chausa.¹ It is a romantic and almost

براء ایں دنیاے ناپایدار براذر خود را از جان بیچان نمی کنم...
اینچنین کار ناشایستہ از من نمی آید

For this perishable world I will not render my brother from life to lifeless, and such unworthy act will "not emanate from me. [Ibid., fol. 34b]

¹ Cf. the protests of his brothers against this measure, and its extreme inadvisability due to the grave risks involved in compelling his nobles to bow publicly to a menial at a time when danger from Shēr Shāh was threatening :

غرض آن غلام سقا را بر تخت نشاندند و حکم فرمودند که همه
امرايان کورنش بغلام سقه بکنند و غلام بھر کس هرچه خواهد
بخشد و منصب بدھد تا دو دوز به آن غلام پادشاهي دادند میرزا
ھنداں در آن مجلس نہ بودند..... میرزا کامران نیز نیامدند..... و
بحضرت گفته فرستادند که غلام را بخشيش و رعایتهاے دیگر بایسی
کرد چه لازم بود که بر تخت نشیند درین وقت که شیر خان نزدیک
رسیده ایں چه کار است که حضرت میکنند

To be brief, his Majesty made the slave water-carrier sit on the throne, and gave order that all the 'Umarā should make obeisance to that slave water-carrier, and the slave might bestow on any one whatever he liked and confer 'mansab.' Till two days his Majesty gave royalty to that

unheard-of instance in modern history that a monarch ever rewarded the services of any of his truest, bravest, or loyalist officers, much less a menial of the rank of a water-carrier, with seating him on the royal throne.

menial. Mīrzā Hindal was not present in that assembly, and Mīrzā Kāmrān too did not attend, and sent word to his Majesty saying, "To the slave gifts and other kinds of concessions should be granted. What need is there that he should sit on the throne at a time when Shér Khān has approached near? What is this work that your Majesty is doing?"

[Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn Nāmā, p. 44.]



THE FAMOUS WATER-CARRIER, *king*, WHO HAD HELPED
HUMĀYŪN WITH A SHEEP-SKIN, WHILE CROSSING THE
RIVER AT CHAUSA, APPEARING FOR HIS REWARD
BEFORE THE EMPEROR, WHO IS SEEN ISSUING
ORDERS TO HIS SECRETARY.

[Secured through Mr. S. M. Azim Ansari, B.A., Law student, 'Aligarh.]

CHAPTER VII

A great tribute of praise is paid by some Persian and English historians to Shāh Tahmāsp for his very noble and generous reception of Humāyūn. Sir John Malcolm, the great historian and authority on Persian affairs, writes thus:

“The reign of Shāh Tahmāsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Hoomāyoona, when that monarch was forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue; . . . and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest; and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tahmāsp merited the

praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations.”¹

This is an exaggerated, and to an extent erroneous account of the reception and the help given to Humāyūn. It is neither supported by reference to any historical source, nor its validity sufficiently tested. Persian writers also, especially of later date, express such views which similarly are based on no historical data. Some observations from “the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn’s personal attendant Jauhar,” are reproduced below:

¹ Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, 508.

NOTE.—The help eventually given by the Shāh consisted of several thousand foot and cavalry which dispersed soon after the conquest of Qandhār, with all its treasures surrendered to them. Humāyūn then recruited fresh soldiers with whose help he was able to conquer Cābul, and there studiously busied himself from four to five years in making special preparations for his attack on India. He sent rich presents to all the great chiefs of Qandhār, Samarqand, Bukhārā, and other towns, inviting them to join him in his expedition, giving them great hopes for the future. It was to this newly raised army led under his command after five years of his return from Persia that he virtually owes his throne of India. Cf. his ‘masnāci’ quoted on p. 18 supra. Also, Cf. Jauhar, fol. 127a:

حضرت پادشاه درین جاها سیر میکردند، اهل عطفه، مشیر
زنان ملک سرقدن، بخارا، بمنهادام کردند، بعضی را
سوغات فرمادند، نوشته که اینجنبانب دخونه متوجه شدن بهم
هندوستان دارد انشالله تعالیٰ اگر تشریف آورند هیچ مانع نیست
پیاپند تا یکبار شکار هندوستان بکنیم تا مشیخت چه آید

¹ على الصباح حضرت شاه عاليمناه کوچ کرده در مقام سلطانیه فرد آمدند...حضرت پادشاه سلام رفته بودند که چندان التفات بجانب خود ندیدند کلفت خاطر کشیدند...و خود را الزام کردن گرفتند که کاشکرے نمی آمدیم و از برائے مهمانی حضرت پادشاه هیزم جمع کرده بودند که حضرت شاه گفته فرستادن که اگر در دین ما در آیند در تربیت می باشیم و ا به تمامی اهل مذهب شمارا درین هیزم آتش داده خواهی سوخت حضرت پادشاه گفته فرستادند که ما بدین خود قایم مقام هستیم آمدیم و مارا چندان آرزوی پادشاه هم نیست و هر چه هست به اراده خدا را عزوجل است د خود را باو بسته ایم -

Early in the morning the Shāh (Tahmāsp) having marched, arrived and halted at Sultāniyā. His Majesty (Humāyūn) had gone to greet him, but seeing no attention paid to himself was grieved at heart, and began to accuse himself, saying, "Would that I had not come!" And for the entertainment of his Majesty they had collected some firewood. The Shāh sent a verbal message, saying, "If you enter into our religion we will extend our support, otherwise with all your co-religionists we shall burn you alive in this pile of

¹ Ibid., fol. 7lb.

wood." His Majesty returned the message, "we are firm in our religion ; we came ; and we do not entertain much desire even for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God—the Great, and the High. We have bound our heart to Him."

Humāyūn approached by Shāh Tahmāsp to accept the Shi'a faith.

Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was approached through a special messenger of the Shāh to accept the Shi'a faith under a similar threat :

قاضی جهان وکیل حضرت شاه در ملازمت حضرت
پادشاه آمد عرض کرد که شما تنها ذمیتید از سب شما
قریب هفت صد کس کشته خواهد شد

Qāzī Jahān, the Vakil of the Shāh, came to his Majesty and said, "You are not alone. On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."

Apart from this, Shāh Tahmāsp was all the time actually thinking to take Humāyūn's life which

Humāyūn's life saved through the noble intervention of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter. was saved only through a happy accident. The Shāh revealed his secret to his son Bahrām Mirzā, who out of compassion divulged it to his sister through whose tender pleadings the situation was changed, and to whose truly noble spirit Humāyūn owes his life and all his subsequent career :

¹ Ibid., fol. 72a.

^۱ الغرض يك روز حضرت شاه عالم پناه با بهرام ميرزا در سخن هلاکيت دشمنان بودند حضرت پادشاه فرمودند ازپس سخن ميرزا غلبه کلفت کشيد و وقت كرد بهمشيره خود اين ماجرا ظاهر ساخت كه همایون پادشاه از نسل تيمور پادشاه بپا خود به اميدواري تمام آمده و چند مدت گذشته كه با او همذمك شده ايم درين ولا شاه عالم پناه حكم باطل همکر دند چون اين عفيفه سخن شنيد بگريه در آمد كه حضرت شاه در خانه آن عفيفه رسيد بهرام ميرزا سلام كرد و بدرفت و حضرت شاه نزول فرمودند و پرسيدند سبب گریستن چيست عرض كرد كه بروز خود ميگردم باز فرمودند كه سلامتی ما بالخواهيد گفت هميشه در دعا حضرت شاه عالم پناه مشغول فاما شما هر چهار طرف دشمن دارید و شنيده ميشود كه محمد همایون پادشاه پسر و بزاده دارد باید ارسانيدن اوچه بدست مي آيد اگر بر احوال او رحم نکنند و سرفراز نفرمایند و امداد او بحاجه نياورند، خصت كنند تا در هرجا كه داند بروند شاه عالم پناه اين کلام شنيد در ساعت قسمت شد و گفت تمام امرای ايان مصلحت بيخردي خود عرض ميكردند فاما بهتر ازپس فيست كه تو ميگوئي -

To be brief, one day the Shāh talked with Bahrām Mīrzā of the killing of Humāyūn.

^۱ Ibid., foll. 76a—76b.

From this speech the Mīrzā being overcome with grief wept, and divulged this affair to his sister saying, “Humāyūn Pādishāh from the progeny of Timūr Pādishāh has come on foot with all hopes, and some period has elapsed since we have eaten the salt together. At this time the Shāh ordered a wrong thing.” When this chaste lady heard this speech she burst into tears. In the meantime the Shāh entered her house. Bahrām Mīrzā saluted him and went out. And the Shāh halted and asked what was the reason for her crying. She said, “I weep on my day.” The Shāh again said, “Wish our welfare.” She said, “I am always busy in my prayer for your Majesty, but you have on all the four sides enemies. And it is heard that Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh has a son and brothers. What good should come to hand by torturing him? If you do not take pity on his affairs and exalt and help him, you should bid him farewell, so that whatever place he knows of he may go to.” The Shāh listened to this speech and got pacified in that moment, and said, “All the *'Umarā* expressed their unwise policies, but there is nothing better than what thou sayest.”

CHAPTER VIII

During Humāyūn's reign, poets and scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkistān, Bukhārā, and

Exodus of
poets and
scholars from
Persia to
India.

Samarqand, continued to emigrate to India in larger numbers than before. Besides those already mentioned, there were many, like Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī

Sadr Turkistānī, Mīr 'Abdul Hai Bukhārī, Khwāja Hijrī Jāmī, Maulānā Bazmī, Mullā Muhammad Sālih, and Mullā Jān Muhammad, who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān.¹ The two popular poets Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā and Hairatī of Māwarā un Nahr had entered Humāyūn's service at Cābul, and received his favours. Similarly Khwāja Ayyūb from Māwarā un Nahr, Maulānā Nādirī from Samarqand, and Maulānā Junūbī from Badakhshān, all journeyed from their homes to Āgra, and received *mansabs*.

A large majority of scholars, like Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī, Maulānā Abul Qāsim

¹ Bā Yazīd, *Tārīkh i Humāyūn*, I.O., MSS., 223, foll. 72b—76a.

Astrābādi, Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shirāzī,

Part played by the Mughal as compared with the Safawī in the uplift of Persian prose and poetry.

and Shauqī Tabrizī, came actually from the Persian towns and the Safawī court itself which, *de facto*, did not rise to the height of the munificence of the Indian courts in their patronage of Persian prose and poetry.¹ The last-named, Shauqī Tabrizī, who was

¹ Poets under the Safawī, were on an average, paid from 20 to 30 'tūmāns' for their 'qasāid' and eulogies of the court. There is one instance discovered of a panegyrist of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great—Shāhī Taklū—who was once weighed in gold for his beautiful poetry, and on his retirement from the Shāh's service got a stipend of 20 'tūmāns' a month (a sum equal to sixty rupees). Against this solitary instance of Persian munificence, a good many brighter ones of Indian courts may be quoted : Cf.—

- (i) Zuhūrī receiving several elephants loaded with gold and silver and other rich presents for his Sāqī Nāma in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. [Sar-Kush, Kalimāt ush Shu'arā—account of Zuhūrī.]
- (ii) 'Urī receiving from the Khān i Khānān 100,000 rupees in reward for a 'qasida.' [Ibid., Account of *Khān i Khānān*.]
- (iii) Hayātī Kāshī was weighed in gold by Jahāngīr for his verses on the style of Khusrau's Tughlaq Nāma. So also, Sa'idā i Gilānī. [Tuzuk i Jahāngīr. p. 240.]
- (iv) Abū Talib Kalīm, Sa'idā i Gilānī, and Bāfiyā, all weighed in gold by Shāh Jahān.
- (v) Maulvī 'Ābdul Hakim Siālkotī weighed twice in gold.
- (vi) Ābdul Hamīd Lāhorī, author of Shāh Jahān Nāma, was similarly weighed in gold, in addition to receiving a large sum in cash, on completion of his history.

an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Sām Mīrzā, at the Safawī court, had left the Prince's service only to enter Humāyūn's.¹ Similarly Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī who came from Shīrāz, was a pauper, and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body.² A good many poets and scholars came after Shāh Tahmāsp, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. The one notable example is that of Masih Ruknā i Kāshi, who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day, and was the chief poet of the court of Shāh 'Abbās. The Shāh not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved, but on one occasion even thought the favour he was showing him was too much for a poet, in consequence of which he left the court and came away to India³ in the reign of Akbar. This is the age when the liberalities of the Deccan and the

- (vii) Qudsī, a most notable instance in the history of Mughal patronage, received in reward for a *qasīda* from a rich noble of Shāh Jahān's court, all his estate in landed and movable property, with heaps of gold and silver; and his mouth was filled seven times with precious jewels by Shāh Jahān himself
- (viii) Nazīrī receiving from *Khān i Khānān* 100,000 rupees cash; and 30,000 gold mohars from Jahāngīr.

¹ Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 382. Cf. the statement: "He left the service of Sām Mīrzā... and went with the Emperor Humāyūn."

² Badā'īnī, Vol. I, p. 476. Cf. the statement:

از تاشی مقرطاً غیر از کهنه بوتینه با خود نداشت

³ Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, Ātashkada, p. 339.

Mughal kings in jealous rivalry with each other were attracting, more than they did ever before, the Persian poets and scholars from the remote corners of Persia, and the Western and Central Asia. Not only the Mughal kings but their 'Umarā too, extended an equal patronage to these literate emigrants, who in their turn sang praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Persia and served as an impetus to others who yet lagged behind. This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. The elegant poetry written in this and the later periods, and the useful literature produced in the shape of histories, translations from Sanskrit and Hindi works, biographies of poets, and dictionaries of Persian language and idiom, stand a contrast and a marvel to Persia.

Various explanations are offered by Persian writers for the non-appearance of any great poets in Persia under the Safawi rule. As a matter of fact both the 16th and the 17th centuries were notably poor in the number and the quality of poets produced in Persia. The chief reason for this lull, as pointed out by Iskandar Munshi—the celebrated historian of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, was the change in the mentality of the Shāh and of the people from the panegyric to the religious poetry or Muharram mournings which constitute strophes in praise of the

Causes of the
dearth of not-
able poets in
Persia under
the Safawīas
put forward
by Persian
historians.

Martyrs: Imām Hasan, and Imām Husain.¹ The same view is endorsed by subsequent Persian and English chroniclers.² It is also declared that the panegyrists were not tolerated by the Persian kings, and consequently no poets of note appeared at their court; and even if they did, they were discouraged and no reward was held out to them for their eulogies. The Safawīs, we are told, maintained that the person of the Imāms and not that of the kings was worthy of the encomiums of the poets.

While all this may be admitted as a distraction, it cannot at the same time be any real reason for the following considerations: First, that the panegyrists did exist under each of the Safawī kings, and received rewards for their encomiums on the person of the Shāh; and second, that the 'marsiyas' (or the Muharram mournings) did not and could not in the least stop other kinds of poetry. The production of the former as compared with the latter is only a drop in the ocean. The poet Qāsimī, for instance, was a panegyrist of Shāh Ismā'il, and was rewarded no less for his 'Qasā'id' than for his other poems, of which, however, none was in praise of

Weakness of
their conten-
tion.

¹ The latter is best known by his revered title of "Sayyid ush Shuhadā" whose martyrdom at Kerbala is a memorable event in the history of Islām and is the subject of universal mourning.

² Cf. Browne, Persian Literature in Modern Times, pp. 172-3.

the Imāms.¹ The highest reward which he got was for his poem entitled 'Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl' written in imitation of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* in extravagant praise of the Shāh. After Shāh Ismā'īl's death, he stayed for some time at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and possibly by the latter's desire wrote a similar poem entitled 'Shāh Nāma i Shāh Tahmāsp' in his praise. In the latter part of his life he repaired to India, being attracted by the liberalities of the Mughal court, and was graciously received by Akbar.

Among the court poets of Shāh Tahmāsp, besides Qāsimī (who came over to India), there were many, of whom Shauqī Tabrizī (who followed suit), Zamīrī, 'Abdī, and Muhtasham Kāshī, were conspicuous. Muhtasham poured unqualified praise on the Shāh, which not only was admitted but justly rewarded by the latter. The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Ali Bēg Azar, describes him as a panegyrist of the Shāh, and a prominent figure among the poets of the Safawī court :

سر آمد شعراء نصاحت شعار آن دو زگار، مداع
شاه طهماسب صفوی است -

¹ Cf. his poems :

- (i) *Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*.
- (ii) *Kār Nāma*, a poem on the game of Chaugān, written at the request of the Shāh himself.
- (iii) *Lailā wa Majnūn*, dedicated to the Shāh.
- (iv) *Khusrāw wa Shīrīn*, dedicated to Sām Mirzā.
[*Tuhfa i Sāmi*, U. L. C., Or. 648, fol. 28a.]

² *Atashkada*, p. 331.

He is the head of the eloquent poets of that period, and a panegyrist of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Some specimens, showing the nature of praises showered by him from time to time on the person of the Shāh, are reproduced below:

شہ گیتی ستان طہ ماسپ آن کز بیم رزم او^۱
 تن پیل دمان کا ھد دل شیر ژیان لرزہ
 اکر فغفور چین آید بقصد آستان بوسشن
 ز چین ابروے دربان آن بہ آستان لرزہ

The king—conqueror of the world—Tahmāsp, is such that from the fear of his battle, The body of the fierce elephant diminishes, and the heart of the ferocious lion shivers ; If the emperor of China comes with the intent to bow at his threshold, From the scowl of the porter of that threshold, he trembles.

تا بدن دستگاہ جان باشد^۲
 دست دست خدا یگان باشد

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

NOTE.—This is in poor imitation of Anwari's famous 'qasida' in praise of Sultan Sanjar, beginning :

گر دل و دست بعروں کان باشد * دل و دست خدا یگان باشد
 شاہ منجھ که نمی دون خدمش * در جهان پادشاه نشان باشد

شاه طهماسب آنکه در سپاهش
 همچو سنجر هزار خان باشد
 آنکه از صدمت عدالت او
 دزه چاوش کاروان باشد
 وانکه از هیبت سیاست او
 گرگ باغی سگ شبان باشد
 چون عنان فرس بجنبانی
 دعشه در جسم انس و جان باشد
 هم درنگ تو یک زمان درجنگ
 مهلت صد هزار جان باشد
 من چنان شمع هعنی افروزم
 انوری مستنیر آن باشد
 Till body be the monopoly of the hand of
 the soul,
 That hand be the hand of the king ;
 Shāh Tahmāsp is such that in his army,
 Like Sanjar there are thousand *Khāns* ;
 He is such that from the dread of his
 justice,
 The thief is the herald of a *Kārvān* ;
 And he is such that through the fear of his
 chastisement,
 The lawless wolf is the dog of a shepherd ;
 When thou givest motion to the rein of thy
 steed,
 Paralysis overtakes the body of man and
 genii ;

Thy delay for a moment in battle,
 Is a respite to a hundred thousand lives ;
 I am such a candle, enlightener of meaning,
 That Anwārī seeks light therefrom.

Side by side with this he also wrote his famous '*Haft-band*' in praise of the Imāms. Zamīrī is another who began his career as a poet in Shāh Tahmāsp's reign, and produced volumes of secular poetry in which respect no other poet in the whole of Persia could compete with him.¹ 'Abdī is yet another who carried the palm in his lavishness of praise on Shāh Tahmāsp. Besides the usual '*qasā'id*', he wrote a long panegyric on the Shāh, entitled '*Būstān i Khīyal*'² (the garden of imagination), also called '*Haftkhīzāna*'. A specimen from same will easily reveal the tendency of the Shāh's taste as also that of the poets at his court :

نَرْ سَدْح سُلْطَان السُّلَطَانِينْ خَاقَان الْخُوَاقِينْ شَاه
 طَهْمَاسِب الصَّفْوَى الْمُوسَوِي الْكَسِينِي خَلِدُ اللَّهِ مَلِكَة
 اَبْدَا -

شَاهْ نَرْ سَدْح جَمِيعَاهْ دَارَا سَرِير
 كَهْ هَمْ تَاجْ بَلْخَشْ اَسْت وَهَمْ مَلِكْ كَيْر

¹ Atashkada, p. 243. Cf. the statement :

ضَمِيرِی - اَسْمَشْ كَمَال الدِّین حَسِین در زَمَان شَاه طَهْمَاسِب صَفْوَى
 زَبَان بَشَاعِرِی کَشَادَه و در زَمَان حَیَات دَاد شَاعِرِی دَادَه و گُوِیا در
 اَصْفَهَان بَلَکَه در وَلَایَت دِیگَر بَكْثَرَت شَعَر او شَاعِرِی نِیامَدَه -

² Or. 3504. B.M. MSS.

³ Ibid., fol. 8a.

محمد نسب شاه حیدر شکوه
 که لرزد چو دریا ازو پشت کوه
 طرازندۀ افسر سر، ری
 فرازندۀ رایت حیدری
 سرافراز گردن کش تاج بخش
 که انجم سپاهست و خورشید رخش
 فلک باگاه کواكب سپاه
 شهنشاه دیندار طهماسبی شاه

In praise of the Sultān of Sultāns, Khāqān of Khāqāns, Shāh Tahmāsp as Safawī, al Mūsawī, al Husainī, may God perpetuate his kingdom :—

The emperor of Jamshīd's dignity of
 Darius's throne,
 Who bestows crown as well as takes
 away kingdom;
 Of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage (may
 peace of God be upon him), of 'Ali's
 grandeur,
 That the back of mountain shivers like
 sea for fear of him ;
 The decorator of the crown of chief ship,
 The uplifter of the banner of 'Ali;
 Of exalted head, of proud neck, and bes-
 tower of crown,
 That the stars are his soldiery, and the
 sun is his steed ;
 Of the court of the sky, of the army of
 stars,

The keeper of religion, the emperor
Shāh Tahmasp.

In the following the poet refers to a 'mansab' which he got from the Shāh in appreciation of secular poems consisting of 'qasā'id,' and 'masnawī,' and 'ghazal,' all of which proceeded from his pen as a sequel to the Shāh's patronage. In the third verse, in which he observes that his poetry was up till then in abeyance, he emphatically denies that it was due to any sense of shame for writing poetry :

بديوان ا على چو بشتافتمن^۱
 مناسب ترين منصب يافتم
 ازان منصب آورده نانے بدست
 بنام عزيزان ندادم شکست
 ولی در نهان بود شعرم شعار
 نبودي ازان نسبتم فنگ و عار
 قصاید ز کلکم برآورده سر
 چو از نخلة خشک خرمائے تر
 نوشتم بكلک بدايع نگار
 غزلهاے زینده آبدار
 تتبع نمودم از اطوار نظم
 چه طور است خوشتبر بیازار نظم

When I hurried to the sublime court,
I got a most suitable 'mansab' ;

¹ Ibid., fol. 10b.

From that 'mansab' I brought to my hand
 a bread,
 I caused no discomfiture (discredit) to the
 name of my dear ones ;
 Albeit my profession of a poet lay in hiding.
 It was not due to any sense of shame or
 disgust arising from my connection
 with that :
 'Qasā'id' made their head from my pen,
 Like fresh dates from a dry palm-tree ;
 I wrote from my quaint-writing pen,
 Well-tempered glittering *ghazals* ;
 From the styles of poetry I followed,
 What style was more fascinating in the
 market of poetry.

Still more reassuring are the lines addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp, in which the author emphatically declares, as his own reason for the praise of the Shāh, that the panegyric poetry in Persia was still, as it had ever been before, the order of the day :

۱ هر آنکو ز مدح شهه داشت نور
 جهانگیر شد همچو فرخنده هور
 هر آنکه نبودش بمدحه مدار
 نبودش چنان هم بدھر اعتبار
 و گر از سخن پروردان کهنه
 مهییں باب مدح اندر آمد سخن

¹ Ibid., fol. 9b.

همه کرده از نامور نامه ها
 بمدح شهاب گرم هنگامه ها
 مراهم خوش آید که دیوان من
 که آمد گرامی تر از جان من
 ز نام شهه چون تو گیرد جمال
 کلامم ز مدحت پذیرد کمال
 اگر سعدی از نام بوبکر سعد
 خط شاعد نظم را کرد جعد
 کنوں عبدي از نام طهماسب شاه
 سخن را زند ببر فلك بارگاه



Every one who had lustre from the praise
 of a king,
 Became the possessor of world like the
 blessed sun ;
 Any one whose poetry was not based on
 praise,
 His worth was not much recognised in the
 world ;
 Again, from the poets of yore,
 The best chapter which proceeded was that
 of praise ;
 All commenced their records from the name
 of the renowned,
 From the praise of kings they warmed their
 assemblies ;
 To me also it becomes agreeable, that my
 poetic collection,

Which is held more precious than my life ;
 May take embellishment from the name of a
 king like thee,
 My poetry from thy praise attain perfection ;
 If Sa'di from the name of Bū Bakr Sa'd,
 Plaited the hair of poetry, the bride ;
 Now 'Abdi from the name of Shāh Tahmāsp,
 Pitches the royal tent of speech above
 the sky.

These outpourings are followed by a fulsome and long drawn out panegyric which would defy any poet. Some by way of specimen are quoted below :—

اگر عنصری زد ز محمود دم
 بر آورده در ملک معنی علم
 مرابین که محمود شد عاقبت
 که کردم جو تو خسروے را صفت
 نظامی و خاقانی از اخستان
 اگر باز کفتند صد داستان
 که بود اخستان شاه شروان زمین
 ترا صد جو شروان بود در ذگین
 اگر گفت خسر، همه سال و ماه
 مدیح علادین و فیروز شاه
 کدامی یکے بود از ایشان چنان
 که یا ره شدن با تو عدم داستان
 اگر زانکه سلمان دلی داشت شاد
 بمدح او ویس جلایر نژاد

اویس اد چه شاهے جهاندار بود
 شترجانیت دا سزاوار بود
 اگر جامی از مدح سلطان حسین
 سخن را بدر و گهر داد زین
 نرا کمک دین بندہ زینسان که هست
 بود جائے سلطان حسینش نشست
 چو مددوح من از همه برتر است
 مرد در سخن رتبه دیگر است
 من آنروز گشتم چو خسرو سهر
 که از جوهہ فرد دادم خبر

Similarly Shāh ‘Abbās, the Great, had his panegyrists, one of whom, Shāhī Taklū, his favourite poet, was weighed in gold for the following beautiful verse, and received his weight for his reward.

اگر دشمن کشد ساغر و گرد وست
 بطاق ابرو مستانه او وست

Whether an enemy drinks a cup of wine, or
 does a friend,
 Both do so at the arc of his tipsy eye-brow.

At this, other poets showed jealousy, and wrote versified complaints to the Shāh, indirectly challenging the merits of their lucky comrade. The one written by Mullā Lutfi, another panegyrist of the Shāh's court, is well-worth quoting :

¹ Ālam ’Arā i Abbāsi, MSS. dated 1156 A.H., fol. 132a.

شاهزاد کرم جهان منور کردي
 ملک دل عالمی مسخر کردي
 شاعر که بخاک، و برابر شده بود
 برداشتی، و برابر زر کردي

O king, thou hast illumined the world with
 thy generosity,
 Thou hast captured the kingdom of the heart
 of a whole world ;
 The poet who had become equal to the dust
 of the path (*i.e.*, whose merits were
 as low as dust),
 Thou hast picked him up, and made him
 equal with gold.

Still more prominent was Hakim Ruknuddin, popularly known as Hakim Ruknā i Kāshī, who composed under the pen-name 'Masih' which suggests with his profession as a physician.¹ He was a competent poet and wrote over one lac (100,000) of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention

¹ Ibid., fol. 134b.

² Cf., Shifā'i, another court-physician and poet of Shāh' Abbās, the Great. His real name was Sharāfuddīn, and Shifā'i was his pen-name which, like 'Masih' is appropriately suggestive with his profession. This taste for fine phraseology and choosing homogeneous words was (as is already shown on p. 64, *supra*), also prevalent at the Persian court, and was *de facto* brought to India from Persia itself, where, through slackness of poetical market, it did not develop so fully as it did in India under the liberal patronage of the Mughals.

and disregard on the part of Shāh ‘Abbās (*vide supra*, p. 151), and consequently left his court for that of the Mughal, with the following verse addressed to the Shāh :

گر فلک یک صبکدم بامن گران باشد سوش
شام بیرون میروم چوں آفتاب از کشورش^۱

If the sky on a single morn makes its head
heavy against me,
That very evening I walk out like the sun
from its dominion.

He arrived at the Mughal court with his famous contemporary—Hakim Sadrā of Shirāz—(who subsequently had his title of ‘*Masihuz Zamān*’ conferred upon him by Jahāngīr), in the last days of Akbar, and was received by ‘Abdurrahīm, *Khān i Khānān*, who took them to the court. Jahāngīr mentions them among his state physicians.²

About the same time another poet Shakibi Isfahāni left his native town for Āgra to enter the service of the *Khān i Khānān*.³ Two of his verses from

¹ Ātashkada, p. 339. [This shows the extent of the influence that the Mughal patronage in India exercised on the Persian court, and specially on the minds of its poets. It not only infused in them a spirit of independence but made them actually slight the patronage shown by the Safawī.]

² Tuzuk i Jahāngīr, p. 19.

³ It is to be noted that the rewards by *Khān i Khānān* exceeded a lac of rupees. In addition to this, the latter secured for him a permanent *jāgir* from Jahāngīr’s government.

Sāqī Nāma which he wrote in grateful acknowledgement of his master's liberal patronage are worthy of notice :

بیا ساقی آن آب حیوان بدہ
ز سر چشمہ خانخانان بدہ
سکندر طلب کرد لیکن ذیافت
کہ در ہند بود اوبہ ظلمت شفافت

Come, o cup-bearer, give me that water of
nectar,

Give me from the stream of the *Khān i*
Khānān ;

Alexander sought for it but did not get,
For it was in India and he went in the region
of darkness.

In the face of such strong evidences there remains little doubt that the real cause of this lull in the activities of poets in Persia is not Real causes in what is so easily explained by a certain class of writers. It surely lies in of the lull. some other quarter. A Persian poet of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp wittily points out the reason of this lack, as resulting from the Shāh's attention being paid to calligraphy, painting, and riding, in the following verse :

¹ Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, MSS., dated, Āgra, 8th Safar, 1146 A. H., fol. 76a. [My attention was first drawn to this work by Prof. A. Qavi, Fāni, M.A., of Lucknow University, who also very kindly permitted the use of his copy which I believe is rare.]

بے تکلف خوش ترقی کرده اند
کاتب و نقاش و قزوینی و خر

Without trouble they have made a good
progress,
The scribe, the painter, the Qazwīnī, and the
ass.

Another sober and somewhat stronger evidence of the lack of patronage to poets in Persia is to be found in the verse of Lisānī Shirāzī, who was a contemporary of Shāh Ismā'il and Shāh Tahmāsp. On one occasion when he happened to go to Tabriz, he composed a ‘qasida’ in praise of Amīr Najm, II, wherein he complained as follows :

مے من صافی و ادب اب مروت بے ذوق
ز، من بیغش و صراف سخن نابینا

My wine is pure, but the possessors of
sympathy are devoid of taste,
My gold is unalloyed, but the banker of
speech (judge) is blind.

¹ Prof. Browne (quoting from Ahsanut Tawārikh), Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924, p. 97.
Cf. his remark :

According to the Ahsanut Tawārikh, Shāh Tahmāsp was in his youth much interested in calligraphy and painting ; he also liked riding on Egyptian asses, which consequently became fashionable, and were adorned with golden trappings and gold-embroidered saddle-cloths.

² Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg, fol. 57b, ut supra.

The above view finds further support in the utterance of another poet Kausarī of the court of Shāh ‘Abbās, the Great. While extolling in the usual manner the virtues of the Shāh¹ in the masnawī entitled ‘Farhād wa Shirīn’, the poet describes the dull atmosphere obtained in Persia, as compared with India, in the following plain and unmistakable language :

²شکایت کم توجهی اهل ایران بارباد معانی
 درین کشور خریدار سخن نیست
 کسے سر گرم بازار سخن نیست
 سخن را قدر و مقدار سے نیازندہ
 معانی را خریدار سے نیازندہ
 نباشد از اکابر تا ارازل
 کسے را دل بسو شعر مایل
 زبس باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار
 بود امروز شعر و شاعری عار

¹ Cf.:

شمه از صفات شاه گیتی سلطان شاه عباس خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه
 چو سر افراغه از لطف الهی * لواهی دولع عباس شاهی
 چهار را خواب امن آمد بدیده * بهد عانیت هد آرمیده
 چنان دست ستم شد کونه از خلق * که باهد ظالم زالی آستین دلت
 بدورانش که باد از چشم بد دور * ز مادر ظلم می زاید ولی کور
 [B.M. MSS., Or. 342, fol. 12a.]

² Ibid., foll. 11a and 12a.

[I am grateful to my friend, Dr. A. M. NizāmiddeIn (Nizām scholar), for having copied these lines for me on my request from the B. M. codex.]

ببین کن بے خریداری دریں در
 چگونه شد بر ارباب سخن جو
 که در ایران کسی ناید پدیدار
 که باشد جنس معنی را خریدار
 در ایران تلحظ گشته کام جانم
 بباید شد سوے هندوستان
 همه طوطی مذاقان شکر خا
 بملک هند ازان کردند ماوا
 بر آنم کوثری ابیات خود را
 شده نازل ز عرش آیات خود را
 جو قطره جانب عمان فرستم
 مقاع خود بهندستان فرستم
 که نبود در سخن دانان دوران
 خریدار سخن جز خانخانان
 سخن را نیست جز او نکته سنجه
 جهانرا همچو او آماده گنجه
 بعالم همچ کس ز اهل هنر نیست
 که از دست سخایش بهر ور نیست

Complaint¹ for the inattention of the people of
ān towards the possessors of meaning (*i.e.*, poets) :

¹ His complaint is of special value as proceeding from one who was a favourite of Shāh ‘Abbās, and a writer of elegies on the Imāms. Cf.:

In this dominion there is no purchaser of
speech,
No one is eagerly busy in the market of
speech ;
To speech value and weight remained not,
Nor for meaning any customer remained ;
From the greatest to the humblest, there is
not,
Any one whose heart is inclined to verse ;
So much valueless and insignificant has
become speech,
That today poetry and the profession of a
poet are a disgrace ;
See that owing to want of market in this age,
What tyranny was practised on the possessors
of speech ;
That in Persia no one appears,
Who is a customer of the commodity of mean-
ing ;
In Persia the palate of my soul has become
bitter,
Now go I ought towards Hindūstān ;
All the sugar-eating parrots,

"Mir 'Āqil poetically surnamed '*Kausarī*,' was known for his devotion to the Imāms, which won him the favour of Shāh 'Abbās, I.'" [Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the B.M., Vol. II., p. 673.]

This emphatically disowns the theory sponsored by later Persian biographers and relied upon by Prof. Browne that the Shāh extended patronage exclusively to those who wrote in praise of the Imāms.

Have for this reason made their abode in
 India ;
 Kausarī, I am now determined that my verses,
 Which are signs descended from the ninth
 heaven ;
 Like a drop towards the ocean I should send,
 I should send my commodity to India ;
 That there is not among the learned of
 the age,
 A customer of speech except the *Khān i*
Khānān ;
 For discourse there is not a weigher of
 subtle points except he,
 For the world there is none like him a
 ready treasure ;
 In the universe there is none from among
 the possessors of art,
 Who is not profited by the hand of his
 generosity.

This dullness of poetic market in Persia lasted for nearly three centuries, and was a contrast with Dullness of India which, through its better appre-poetic market ciation and patronage, attracted all in Persia last-ed for three the topmost poets with only a few centuries. exceptions like Muhtasham Kāshī and Hakīm Shifā'i. It was in fact with the appearance of Qajar dynasty, of which Fath 'Ali Shāh was the most conspicuous figure, that the market of poetry in Persia again became brisk. He extended his patronage to poets and himself wrote poetry under the pen-name '*Khāqān*.' This was the age when the Persian nobles and princes likewise extended their

patronage to poets.¹ The result of this appreciation was that the fire of poetic genius of the nation, which had for so long burnt low in poets under sullen despondency, sparkled out once more and lit up the horizon of that country. Simultaneously with it, emigration to India considerably diminished.² The most notable poet that Persia in this new era produced was Qā'ānī, who is justly regarded both in India and Persia as the last great poet of Persian language.³

¹ Cf.—

- (i) Prince Hasan 'Alī Mīrzā "Shujā 'us Saltanat," Governor of Khurāsān—patronised Qā'ānī, Farūghī, and others.
- (ii) Hājī Mīrzā Āqāsī, "Nāib us Saltanat" Prime Minister of Muhammad Shāh—also a patron of poets.
- (iii) Mīrzā Taqī Khān, better known as "Amīr i Kabīr" eulogised by Qā'ānī in numerous "qasā'id" for his munificent liberalities to poets.

² Cf. other causes :

- (i) Gradual replacement of Persian by Urdū, and its official recognition as the court language under the English.
- (ii) Patronage shown by the Mughal princes and other nobles to Urdū poets.

³ The one prominent figure in modern Persian poetry, which begins roughly from the latter half of the 16th century A.D., is the epoch-making Qā'ānī the Shelley of Persia, as we may call him. No other poet is to be found in the whole range of Persian verse so rich in the vividness of imagery, the exquisite mastery over style, and above all, in the glow and verve of idiom and naturalness of simile and metaphor, as he. Qā'ānī's descriptions are some of the most consummate that exist in the Persian

The chief causes, which appear more likely to be at the root, were : (i) the attention of the Safawi Main causes which were at the root. to political, social, and above all, religious reform (which, being of a drastic and fanatical nature, led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia), on the one hand ; and (ii) the patronage shown by the Mughal in India, on the other. The Mughal

language. Every line of his displays that fulness of detail and eye for close observation which characterise his writings. His descriptive poems stand out not only in his own composition but in the Persian verse as a whole. His poetry is confined chiefly to *Qasida*, *Khamsa*, *Qit'a* and *Mutā'iba*, on topics of love, natural scenery, and praises and satires of kings and dignitaries. A few lines from his *Khamsa* may be quoted here by way of specimen, which specially appeal to every student of *Nature*, a parallel of which is hard to find in the East among poets of Persian language, but is frequently met with in the West in English poets like Tennyson, Shelley, and Wordsworth :

دیده نرگس بیان باز چو سیهاب شد
طره سنبل براغ باز پور از تاب شد
آب فردۀ چو سیم باز چو سیماب شد
باد بهاری بجست زعفران دی آب دد
نیم شب آن بخبر کرد ز بستان فوار
باز بر آمد بکوه رایت ابر بهار
سیل فرو دیخت سنگ از زیر کوهسار
باز بجهش آمدن مرغ بچان از نثار
فاخته و بوالملیح صاصل و کبک و هزار
طوطی و طاؤس و بط سیره و سرخاب و سار

Court offered a home not only to poets but to scholars of all shades of opinion, including professional men like physicians, calligraphists, and painters. A large number of them, who in Persia refused to accept the Shia faith forced upon them, had to go

The eye of narcissus in the garden shone again as
bright as quicksilver,
The forelock of hyacinth in the jungle became again
full of curl ;
The frozen water like silver once more melted into
quicksilver,
The spring breeze leapt, and the gall-bladder of
autumn turned into water,
In the dead of night it took its flight stealthily from
the garden.
Again, the banner of Spring cloud appeared on the
summit of the mountain,
The flood hurled down the stones from the top of the
hills ;
Again, the young birds rushed in glee from every nook,
The dove, the grouse, the quail, the partridge, and the
nightingale,
The parrot, the peacock, the duck, the diver, the goose,
and the crane.

The life-like picture depicted in conformity with Nature, the fiery poetical glow of language, and the introduction of original and quaint ideas even in such a common and world-wide subject as the appearance of the garden, during the dominion and sway of the vernal epoch, are qualities which had almost disappeared from the Persian composition in the 18th century. Along with the exquisite beauty of diction in the above descriptive sketch, Qī'āni's presentation is absolutely free from unnatural exaggerations so common with poets in his day. His graphic sketch of *Nature* and her workings is such as might be

into exile. Some went to Turkey, and the Central Asian Provinces, but many came to India, to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating,

given by any English poet without hesitation. For example compare one stanza from the *Adonais* of Shelley :

The airs and streams renew their joyous tone ;
The ants, the bees, the swallows reappear ;
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead season's bier ;
The amorous birds now pair in every brake,
And build their mossy homes in field and brere ;
And the green lizard and the golden snake,
Like unimprisoned flames, out of their trance awake.

Qā'āni's poetry with its wonderful ease and flow does not appear to belong to the era in which he lived, but exhibits a taste which prevailed in the early and the middle ages. His fidelity to nature combined with the charm of Rūdakī and Zahir, the pathos of Nizāmī, and the vivacity and animation of Farrukhī and Manuchahri, preponderates in his composition, and in this respect he appears to be a poet more of the 12th and 13th centuries than of the 19th when he actually lived. Even in his figurative indulgence, which is a characteristic of the 17th and 18th century poets, his supremacy over his colleagues is marked in so far as he has kept aloof from the vices rampant in their composition. His artistic display of the language, and his metaphor and simile have a charm and a reality which do not exist in the work of modern poets, and were long displaced by frivolous attempts at word and meaning, and the inordinate figurative touches which had disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry in the later age. In Qā'āni, therefore, we have a revival of the middle and early poetry, and he may be justly said to represent Farrukhī, Manuchahri, and Zahir in the 19th century.

being attracted by its superior literary support. It is by this process and the force of

Qā'ānī's elegies are also famous for their originality of form, and style of address. They are a deviation from the old established path in a more conspicuous form than is exhibited in his panegyric poetry. Some specimen lines from his elegy on Imām Husain are quoted below:

باردچه خون که دیده چار دوز د شب چرا
از غم کدام غم سلطان کربلا
نامش چه بود حسین ز شزاد که از علی
مامش که بود ناطعه جدش که مسلطی
چون شد شهید شد بکجا دشت مار یه
کے عاشر محرم پنهان نه بِرْمَّا
شب کشته شد نه دوز چه هنگام وقت ظهر
شد از جلو بربده سرشن نی از قفا
سیزاب کشته شد نه کس آبش نداد داد
که شمر از چه چشمہ ز سر چشمہ فنا
مطلوب شد شهید بلے چرم داشت نه
کارش چه بُد هدایه و یارش که بُد خدا

What rains ? The blood ; who rains ? The eye ; how ? Day
and night ; why ?
Out of grief ; what grief ? The grief for the Sultān of
Kerbala,
What was his name ? Husain ; from whose parentage
was he? From that of 'Ali,
Who was his mother ? Fatima; who was his grand-
father ? The Prophet Muhammad.
What happened to him ? He suffered martyrdom ;
where ? In the desert of Marya,
When ? On the 10th of Muharrum ; secretly ? Nay, publicly.

such circumstances, further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter-relations uniting the

Was he killed at night ? Nay, in the day ; what hour ?
 At the hour of noon,
 Was his head cut off from the front ? Nay, from behind.
 Was he killed with his thirst quenched ? No ; did none
 give him water ? Yes, they did,
 Who did ? Shimr ; from what stream ? From the stream
 of death.
 Did he fall a martyr to oppression ? Aye ; had he (com-
 mitted) any fault ? None,
 What was his mission ? Guidance ; and who was his friend ?

GOD.

"Qā'ānī," says Browne, "is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the 19th century. He is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his command of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles."

The latter remark of the learned critic is mainly due to the allegation that Qā'ānī was of short temper, and his pen did not desist from disparaging those whom he had once praised in his *qasā'id*. In support of this contention Browne quotes one instance of Hājī Mīrzā Āqāsī, who, during his supreme Governorship of Khurāsān, was extolled for his piety and justice by Qā'ānī. But when the Mīrzā fell from power, having incurred the displeasure of the emperor Muhammad Shāh, and his Ministerial rank and authority passed on to another noble "Lisān ul Mulk" Mīrzā Taqī Khān, better known as "Amīr i Kabīr," Qā'ānī, for reasons not yet fully disclosed, discredited the former and praised the latter thus :

خوشت کامشب اے صنم خوریم سے بیاہ جم
 کا گشته دولت عجم قوی چو کوہسارها
 ز سعی صدر نامور مهین امیر دادگر
 کز و کشودہ باب و در ز حصن و ز حصارها

two countries that the court of the Mughal eventually became completely Persianised, and in fact every-

بچاره عالیه شفی نشسته عادلے تئی
کہ موسنان صدقی کنند انتخارها

It is pleasing tonight, O dear, that we drink wine in memory
of Jamshid,
Because the empire of Persia has become firm like a chain
of mountains :
Through the efforts of our reputed Minister, the greatest
Amir and the giver of justice,
(From whom) the doors and gates of castles and fortresses
are kept wide open :
In place of a cursed tyrant, sat a just and God-fearing person.
That the pious believers take pride in him.

Qā'ani purged the Persian poetry from that irksome hyperbole, and laboured and pedantic style which the later poets, during the last two centuries before him had commonly adopted as their motto. His verses are full of pathos and spontaneous and natural tendencies as opposed to a terse and affected style formed by clever devices, subtleties of figures of speech, and rhymed diction. His distinctive feature of writing, and the reforms he introduced in the art of versification, are summed up as follows :

- i) Abstention from fatuous and abortive exaggeration in his flight of thought as could be seen in the following lines reproduced here by way of sample :

درزدوقی که دم زنی از حزم و اختیاط
او کل بادیان کند این کل لنگرا
غیر از دشای شاه که جوید بچان و دل
آید بچشم هردو جهانش مسخرا
بادش عمو نوا و بد انديش ذاتوان
دولت جوان و حکم دوان ياربند زرا

thing, language, custom, fashion, food and dress,
was adopted after the Persian style and taste.

نصرت قریں و چون معین فتح همنشین
حاسد غمین و بخش سعین خصم لاغرا
وله
ای دست تو بخشندۀ تر از ابر ب مجلس
دی نیخ تو رخشندۀ تر از برق ب پیجا
گر صاعقۀ قهر تو بر کوه بتا بد
پیکان دمد اندر عوض خار ز خارا
پک شاه مار است مرا درج به پیکر
پک بیشه خار است مرا موی بر اعضا
وله
از آن شراب که گر بیندش کسے شب تار
کند نظاره بظلمات آب حیوان را

(ii) Remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his simile and metaphor, as contained in the following lines:

ز خاک رسته لاله چو بُسیدیں پیا لها
بیرگ لاله ڙاله چو در هفق ستارها
ز دیوش سخابها بر آبها حبابها
هو جوی نقره آبها دوان در آبشادها
دو زلف تابدار او بچشم اشکبار من
چو چشمۀ که اند روشننا کند مارها
درختهای بادرور هو اشتران بادربر
هی ز پشت یکدگر کشیده صف قطا رها
فواز سود بوسنان نشته اند قریان
چو مقربان نفر خوان بزمردیں مغارها
بنفسه رسته از زمین بطرف جویمارها
و یا گستنه حورعین ز زلف خویش تارها
ز سنگ اگر ندیده چسال چهد شرارها
بدرگهائے لاله بین میان لاله ڙارها
که چون شراره می جهد ز سنگ کوهسارها

It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the

-
- (iii) His pun and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful, and dignified in character, than those of his contemporaries who are content merely with the ornate diction and display of words at the sacrifice of good taste. A few instances are quoted below :

نف کویش از بس قناده در یتیم
یتیم ساخته پروردگار عما دا
از آهی سیمین بستان آهی زدیں
تا خانه چو مینو کنی از شاهد و مینا
آهی بگیر این همه کاهو بتو گیرند
آهو چه کنی اے همه شیران بتو شیدا
به نوع انسال آنار بود مباهاش
که بر به سایر انواع نوع انسا دا
سپهر کوکه صدرا توئی که کوکب تو
شکسته کوکب هفت آسمان گردان دا

- (iv) Continuity and fulness in his description, with faithful representation of the subject, which is wonderfully attractive and appealing to heart :

ای دنه پُنے صید خزان سوے صحراء!
باز آ بسوی شهر پُنے صید دل ما
گر تیر زنی بر دل ما زن نه بر آهو
در درم نهی در ره ما نه نه جصhra
نه شهر کم از دشت و نه ما کمتر از آهو
صید دل ماکن اگرت صید تمنا
آهوے بیابان نه برد عهد بیابان
مانیم که صیدیم و بقیدیم و شکیبا
اے آهوے انسی چه کنی آهو وحشی
دین طرفة که صیدی چه کنی صید تقاضا
مادر تو گریزدم و گریزد ز تو آهو
او صید تو غاظ شده ما صید تو عدا

Mughal court, nor on the people of Hindūstān, before

آهه بگیراین همه کا هو بتو گیرند
آهه چه کنی ای همه شیران بتو شیدا
چشمت چوبه آهه ست بجوا هو چشمی
مه روی و سخنگوی و سمن کوی و سمن سا
وله

ماه رمضان آمد اے تری سمن بر
برخیز د مرآ سبتعه و سجاده نیاور
و اسباب طرب را بیر از مجلس؟ بیرون
زان پیش که تاگاهه تقیلی رسد از در
دان مصحف فرسوده که پارینه ز مجلس
پردی بشب عید و نیادردی دیگر
باز آر و بدہ تاکه بخوانم دو سه سوره
غفران پدر خواهم و آمرزش مادر
مے خوردن این ماه دوائیست که این ماه
فرمان خدا دارد و یرلیخ پیغمبر
در روز حرام است به اجماع و لیکن
رندانه توان خورد به شب یکدوسه ساغر
بیش از دو سه ساغر توان خورد که تا صبح
بویش رود از کام و خمارش رده از سر
یا خورد بدان گونه بباید که ز مستی
تا شام دگر بز توان خاست ز بستو
تا خلق نگویند که می خودد فلانی
آرے چه خبر کس را از راز مستو
من مذهبم این اسخ دای و چه میم نیست
دین کار نیاید بجز از مرد تو انگر
ناچار من و مصحف و سجاده و تسبیح
دان ورد شبانروزی و آن ذکر مقرر

(v) His productive, rich, and luxuriant style, with his wonderful command of the language, is more than what could be achieved by any Persian poet during the last two centuries

the advent of Bābur, which is synchronous with the

before him. This is evident from the sweetness inherent in his poetry, and his uses of verbs with their auxiliaries in distinctive and varied meanings, which have acquired the bearing and stamp of idiom. For instance, he uses the verb اقتد in so many flexible ways and with such clever turns that one cannot but admire his *ijtihad*. The following lines deserve special notice:

اے خواہ وقت کہ از غایت مسیش سخن
مچھو سرما زدہ در کام بکرار اقتد
بے خطا گفتہ و شاہ از همه حال آگاهست
می نشوادہ که همیں پرداز اسرار اقتد
هم خداوند و ہم شاہ از همه حال آگاهست
ایں چنیں رندی و تکشی بیمار اقتد
چوں بہ اپناۓ جہاں بار خدا ستار است
لاجرم سایہ او باید ستار اقتد

- (vi) He was a genius, and proficient in three languages, Turkish, French, and Arabic and made a free use of their vocabulary in his poetical composition, more than any other poet of Persia ever did before.
- (vii) He uses many redundant words (ابید, اید) with the air of a *Mujtahid*. Not only stray instances of same are to be met with in his poetry here and there, as is the case with other poets, but that he picks up a word and makes it a regular دیف, e.g., cf., his long *qasida* beginning with:

آمد بہ برم دوش یکے سادہ پس بہ
دز مشک فرو هشتہ دو گیسو بقر بہ

He also invented and introduced *stammering* poems, depicting in words the halting articulations, stops and rapid repetitions of a habitual stammerer. It was a bold step for him to take in the 19th century, which no other poet ventured before him

Safawi persecution, as it did afterwards.

- (viii) The sweetness and melody inherent in his *qasīda* is most remarkable, and presents a new phase in the art of *qasīda-writing*, which originally belonged to *ghazal*.
 - (ix) He widened the scope of Persian poetry by allowing حفاظت; and admitting obsolete words and new sets of compounds and constructions in his composition, a step which befitted him as an امام or a recognised leader of poets.
 - (x) He is a great force in the field of 19th century Persian literature. His style characterised by freshness of expression, rejuvenation of thought, and naturalness of simile, is unique in the life and literature of Qajar Persia. Nay, the service rendered by him to Persian poetry as a whole, is most remarkable, and stands by itself.
 - (xi) He revived the poetry of the early and the middle age, and combined in his *qasīda* the merits of Rūdakī, Farrukhī, Manuchahri, Anwārī, and Zāhir, adding to them a charm all his own. He thus raised the standard and dignity of Persian poetry, which had fallen so low in Persia since after the coming away of Abu Tālib Kalim to India, and is regarded as the *last great poet of Persian language*, a position justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.
 - (xii) In prose, his work “كتاب پریستان” written after the manner and style of Sa'di's *Gulistan*, is a reflection and a blot on his good name, and does him no credit as a prose-writer. It is full of scurrilous anecdotes, and reveals his easy life and freedom of thought which he loved so well.
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CHAPTER IX

He was by nature tender-hearted and was inclined more and more, as he advanced in years, towards

Wave of pessimism in the latter part of his life due to the influence of religious atmosphere obtained in India.

Sūfism and renunciation. His growing desire for the company of the devout, and his aversion to this material world, had manifested themselves too clearly on several occasions. His frequent visits to the tombs of saints, and his association with the Sūfis of the time, and taking auguries from the *Diwan* of Hāfiẓ on important matters of state, domestic, and personal, was for the most part under the influence of the Indian atmosphere during his stay in Hindūstān, which was already a most noted country in the East for spiritual progress and the religious activities of its people. The Persian mysticism, since its very advent in India, had found a warm reception by the religious-minded populace ; and this joint working of Muslim thought with the Hindū zeal for devotional practices, aiming at the purification of the soul, had created a spiritual atmosphere, the effects of which no foreigner, however stiff-hearted and indifferent he might be, could escape. Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and other contemporary and later historians, have quoted instances of his pessimistic views. The one recorded by Abul Fazl is reproduced as follows :

^۱ و اکثر اوقات بر زبان اقدس حضرت جهانیانی
 جنت آشیانی ذکر سفر ملک مقدس میگشت و بر
 عادت پسندیده خویش این معنی را که منافی
 خلاف عالم انتظام است مکروه داشته - مذکور
 مجلس عالی نمی شد درین ولا بذکر آن
 خوشوقت می گشتمد - هما نا که بر پیشگاه باطن
 غیب دار نقش آن پرتو اند اخته بود از انجمله
 روزے تصدیق و تحسیں کلام حقیقت اذحاجم گیتی سقانی
 فردوس مکانی میفرمودند که حضرت فردوس مکانی
 در محفل خود مذکور میفرمودند که فلاں ملازم من
 میگفت که هرگاه خوابستان گورستان غزدین بنظر
 در می آید مرا میل مردن می شود و در تلو آن میفرمودند
 که ما چون دهلي و مزارت آنرا مشاهده می کنیم
 سخن او بیاد می آید که چه خوش میگفت و در
 همان نزدیکی که متوجه ملک بقا می شوند به بعض
 از مستعدان خطاب می فرمودند که امروز بعد از فراغ
 عبادت سحری حالتی دست داده بود و ملهم غیبی ایں
 رباعی بر زبان داد

رباعی

یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گردان
 واقف بحقایق خواصم گردان

^۱ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 435. (Mahārāja Patiāla edition,
 Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)
 F. 24

از عقل جفا کار دل افگار شدم
دیوانه خود خوان و خلاصم گردان

And often times passed on the holy tongue of the late king (whose abode is in Paradise), the talk of travel to the next world ; and against his old pleasing habit, this talk which is opposed to the orderly government of this world, and which he did not like to be mentioned in his sublime assembly before, he was pleased with its mention in these days. Verily, since on the heart of the secret-knowing king, the effects of such thoughts had already cast their shadows, therefrom the king did one day praise and vouchsafe for the truthful utterance of the late conqueror, *Firdaus-Makānī* (Bābur), saying, that *Firdaus-Makānī* once in his assembly mentioned that a certain servant of his said one day, “ Whenever the sleeping Yard of the Cemetery of Ghaznī comes into my sight, I am inclined to die.” And after this, the king added, “ When I see Delī and its tombs I recollect the speech of the late king—how nice and true he said !” And near about the time when he was to turn his face towards the eternal kingdom, he addressed to some of his attendants, “ Today, after the morning prayers, something happened, and the angel of inspiration put this quatrain on my tongue :—

O God, with Thy plentiful grace select me
for Thy nearness,
Make me acquainted with the secrets of
Thy chosen people ;

Through my oppressive wisdom my heart
was rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from
all cares."

The extent to which he had allowed himself to be led by Sūfistic ideas is determined by his deeds

His Sūfistic tendencies resembling those of an ardent recluse.

of wilful surrender to Sūfistic dicta, and in endeavouring to tread in the path of attaining spiritual solace and viewing this world and its affairs with

the detachment of a recluse. Like an ascetic he occasionally gave up meat-eating, and lived entirely on vegetables, in the hope of attaining that purity of soul and its secret link with the spirits of the saints, which, according to a class of thinkers, is the exclusive prerogative of the devout abstainers alone. Abul Fazl writes thus of Humāyūn's avowed abstinence from all animal food until his second conquest of Hindūstān, merely with the object of appeasing the saints and invoking their blessings for the success of his arms :

و، حضرت جہانبانی کے از ابتداءے ایں سفر مبارک
بدھ دعلی و فتح عندوسقان ترک تناول حیوانی فرمودہ
بتوجہات روحانی استفتاح می نمودند امروز کمال
انبساط بجاے آورد ۵

And his Majesty, the Warden of the world,
who, from the beginning of this auspicious

^۱ Ibid., p. 422.

journey until his reaching Delhi and the conquest of Hindūstān, having abstained from all animal food, sought victory through spiritual attentions, evinced the greatest pleasure today.

Along with his abstinence from the animal food, he also used to take auguries from the *Dīwān* of Hāfiẓ,¹

¹ The practice of consulting omens from the *dīwān* of Hāfiẓ was prevalent in Persia also. The belief of the Persians in *tafārūl* was so great that they gave the names of *Lisān'-ul-Ghaib* (Invisible tongue), and *Tarjumān-ul-Asrār* (Interpreter of mysteries), to Hāfiẓ's *dīwān*. Like the Mughal emperors in India, the Persian royal house also, in spite of their disbelief in the Sunnī *tariqat* and in Sūfīs, used to take auguries from the *dīwān* on important private and official matters. The *Latīfa i Ghai-biyya* (a book written by a Persian noble and poet of the town of D̄r̄b, printed at Tīhrān in 1304 A.H.) mentions several instances of such auguries drawn from *Hāfiẓ* by the Persian kings. Cf.—

(i) Shāh Isma'īl I, the promulgator of the Shi'a faith in Persia, who even went to the length of destroying the tombs of Sūfīs, decided to consult Hāfiẓ's *dīwān* about the destruction of the latter's tomb. The result of this augury was the following verse :

جواز سر نهاد حمایل برا برم
بعنی غلام شاعم د سوکند می خورم

(ii) Shāh Tahmāsp one day lost his ring, and consulted Hāfiẓ which opened at the following verse :

دل که غیب نایست د جام جم دارد
ز خانمه ک دس م شود چه غم دارد

believing in their efficacy, just as the ancient Romans used to consult Vergil, when they were in doubt as to the proper course of action to be pursued by them. While yet in Cābul, after his return from Persia, he consulted the *dīwān* about his success in his impending attack on Hindūstān, to regain his lost kingdom from Shēr Shāh. A detailed account of this augury and his personal faith in its efficacy, is given in the following extract :

His taking auguries from *dīwān-i-Hāfiż* and his belief in their bearing fruit : a practice prevalent among the people of Hindūstān, and ardently followed by his successors in India.

عنان عزیمت والا بصوب صواب همalk هندوستان
معطوف فرمودند و آن نور پرورد ایزدی یعنی حضرت

(iii) Similarly, Shāh Abbās II, like Humāyūn, once took an augury from Hāfiż's *dīwān* regarding the conquest of Azarbāijān, of which the capital is Tabriz. The following verse was the remarkable response :

عراق ، نارس گرفتی بشعر خود حافظ
بیا که نوبت بغداد و وقت تبریز است

¹. Ibid., p. 409.

NOTE.—The difference in the Persian and the Indian method of taking auguries may be noted :—In India, the popular method is to open the *dīwān*, after reciting *fātiha* with or without *durūd*, and invoking its blessings on the departed soul of Hāfiż. The first verse of the open page on the right is generally taken as Hāfiż's response to the query. If the answer is not clear, the 7th line of the same page is the next best verse to be counted upon. But if neither gives satisfaction, six further pages are turned, and the first verse of the 7th page is accepted as final.

شاعنشاهی را که عمر عصری آنحضرت دران هنگام سعادت پیرای دوازده سال و هشت ماه بود و عقل کامل آن بزرگ کوئی از احاطه احصا افزون مقدمه جیش فتوحات صوری و معنوی ساخته باه پای اقبال را بحوالان در آوردند و در روز توجه عالی بدیوان لسان الغیب تبرک و تفاؤل جستند چون امر عظیم از پرده غیب و جلباب خفا جلوه ظهور می نماید منادیان بشارت از انفس و آفاق بهزار زیان بلند آوازه می کردند از انجمله این شاه بیت قدسی عبارت بسر صفحه اولی که سر نوشته پیشانی دولت تواند شد عنوانی منشور فتح نمود -

شعر حافظ

دولت از مرغ همایون طلب و سایه او
زانکه با زاغ و زغن شهرپر همت نبود

اگرچه خرد مندان عالم معامله دانی این کلام
حقیقت ترجمان را بر دولت و نصرت حضرت جهانبانی
بشارتی شایسته خیال نموده بهجت آرای محفوظ سعادت

In Persia the method of opening the *diwān* at random is more common, and the condition of reciting *fātiha* is not considered necessary, though *durūd* is generally read simultaneously with opening the book. Some take the first line on which the eye falls, be it on the right or on the left page ; while others consider the first verse of the ode, which begins on the right page, as the proper answer.

شدند اما دوربینان بارگاه دادش فکواي اين نظم
بدیع را نوید خلافت کبری و مژده سلطنت عظمی
حضرت شهنشاهی دریافتنه بدر انتظار طیران علو
این طایر قدسی اقامت فرمودند و حضرت جهانبانی
اعتصام به عرب‌الوثقای عذایت الهی و استمساك به
حبل المتبین دشارت آسمانی نموده با اندکی از مردم
که بسه هزار کشند بمعاضدت بسیاری از جنود غیبی
که بشمار محسابان عقول نگنجید نهضت فرمودند -

In the above-quoted extract one could see the wonderful effect exercised by the miraculous verse of Hāfiẓ. Not only it filled the heart of Humāyūn and his generals with hope, but that the confidence it infused was so great that he marched without even adequate preparation with a number less than 3000 foot and cavalry all told,¹ on such a big mission as the re-conquest of Hindūstān.

¹ This original figure was substantially increased later, and many more joined him on his way to Hindūstān. The warring factions in India, jealous of one another's power, were a great incentive to Humāyūn, who entered the country unopposed, and marched as far as Lahore without facing any great opposition. Other natural factors were the death of Salim, the powerful Pathān King and the invitation sent to Humāyūn by the discontented *Umara* of Delhi and Āgra to come to Hindūstān and occupy his father's throne. Almost all the tribes of the Pathāns were engaged in the civil war. It was therefore the most opportune moment for Humāyūn to return.

One day, when he was out for hunting in Cābul, he expressed to his nobles the anxiety of his mind

His reading omens in the phenomena of *Nature*, and his belief in their symbolic truth.

to regain his lost throne, and consulted them as to the advisability of leading an attack on India with the meagre men and material he could collect. Those who had lived in India in the heyday of his fortune, and enjoyed the comfort and

wealth of the country, offered to consult the old method of divination, *viz.*, to send a courier ahead, who should go and return after taking down the names of the first three persons he meets. The king readily consented to this and sent three horsemen, instead of one, all in the direction of Hindūstān but separate from one another, who were to return immediately after meeting the first person each, and report to him their names individually. The first brought the news that he met a trader named *fortune*. The other said that he met a traveller by name, *object of the heart*. The third reported that he came across a peasant whose name was *auspiciousness*. The conclusion drawn was that the king should immediately start upon his campaign, unmindful of the number of his army, as success was sure to attend on him. He therefore put himself to this task at once and invited recruits who readily responded to his call under the said belief. Thus in the month of Safar in 962 A.H., he marched from Cābul, and was joined by many veteran soldiers on his way to Hindūstān.

His keen sense of giving justice to the poor against the high-handedness of the officials had led

he invention of *tabl-i-'adl* (or drum of justice), which he had ordered to be placed in the outside corridor of the royal palace. Any one from the highest to the humblest in life could approach him without fear of molestation, and use that drum to draw the attention of the king in person, towards the tyranny shown to him by any official, enemy, robber, noble of the court. This mode of giving justice appreciated and copied by his successors in India, the most notable among whom was his grandfather, Jahāngīr. He had a gold chain measuring 30 feet¹ in length, with 60 bells, one end of which was attached to the parapet of the royal dome of his fort at Lahore, and the other to a mile-stone fixed on the bank of the Jamuna.² Humāyūn's *drum of Justice* is

A Persian yard.

Cf. Jahāngīr's own statement :

بعد از جلوس اولین حکمی که از من صادر گشته بستن زنجیر
عدل بود که اگر متصدیان مهمات دارالعدالت در داد خواهی و غور
دستی ستم رسیدگان و مظلومان اهمال و مداهنت ورزند آن مظلومان
خود را بدین زنجیر رسانیده سلله جنبان گردند تا صدائے آن باعث
آگاهی گردد - وضع آن بروین نهنج است - از طلی ناب فرمودم
زنگی سازند طواش سی فراع مشتملبر شصت زنگ - وزن آن
چهار من..... یک سرش پر کنگره هاده برج قلعه آگه استوار
ساخته سر دیگر تاکناره دریا بوده بی میل سنگین که نصب شده بود
محکم ساختند -

[Tuzuk i Jahāngīri]

described with its details of procedure by Abul Fazl as follows :—

و از مخترعات آنحضرت طبل عدل بود که اگر دادخواهی را با کسی مخاصمت می شد یک نوبت چوب بر طبل میزد و اگر تظلم او از عدم وصول علوفه بود دو نوبت آن کار میکرد و اگر ما و جهات اورا ظالم غصب کرده بود یا دزه برده سه نوبت طبل را بفغان آورد و اگر با کسی دعوای خون داشته چهار نوبت صدای طبل را بلند گردانید

And from amongst the inventions of his Majesty was the *drum of Justice* to the effect that if any seeker of redress had enmity with any one, he would strike the *drum* with the stick once ; and if he was oppressed for not supplying fodder, he would do this act twice ; and if his articles of subsistence were seized by some tyrant, or carried off by some thief, he would make the *drum* sound thrice ; and if against some one he had a claim for shedding blood (murder of his kinsmen), he would cause the *drum* to sound loud four times.

His generosity and benevolence were great¹; and his clemency for his brothers, who proved a constant source of trouble and a menace to the His general peaceful government of his empire, character. was extraordinary, and carried beyond

¹ Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, pp. 434-35. (Mahārāja Patiala edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

the limits of prudence and justice which he owed to the State. He was a lover of learning and a patron of poets and prose-writers of his day. He inherited from his father the poetic genius which is displayed in his *masnawī*, *rubā'ī*, and other metrical compositions. He was unostentatiously religious and his faith in providence was remarkable. In his days of fortune as well as in distress he did not lose the balance of mind, and remained happy in his submission to the will of God. In exile, when he was persuaded to embrace the Shi'a faith, in return for the promised Persian help to reinstate him on his lost throne of Hindūstān, he had uttered the following :

ما بدیں خود قایم مقام هستیم، آمدیم^۱، و ما را
چندان آرزوے پادشاهی ھم نیست و هر چہ هست بارا دن
خدا سے عزوجل است، دل خرد را بہ او بسته ایم -

We are firm in our religion. We came ; and we do not even entertain much desire for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God, the Great and the High. We have bound our heart to Him.

In battle he was valiant, and in peace his forgiving nature never yielded to any strict measures which the times demanded, not so much through weakness of mind as through gentleness and nobility of spirit.

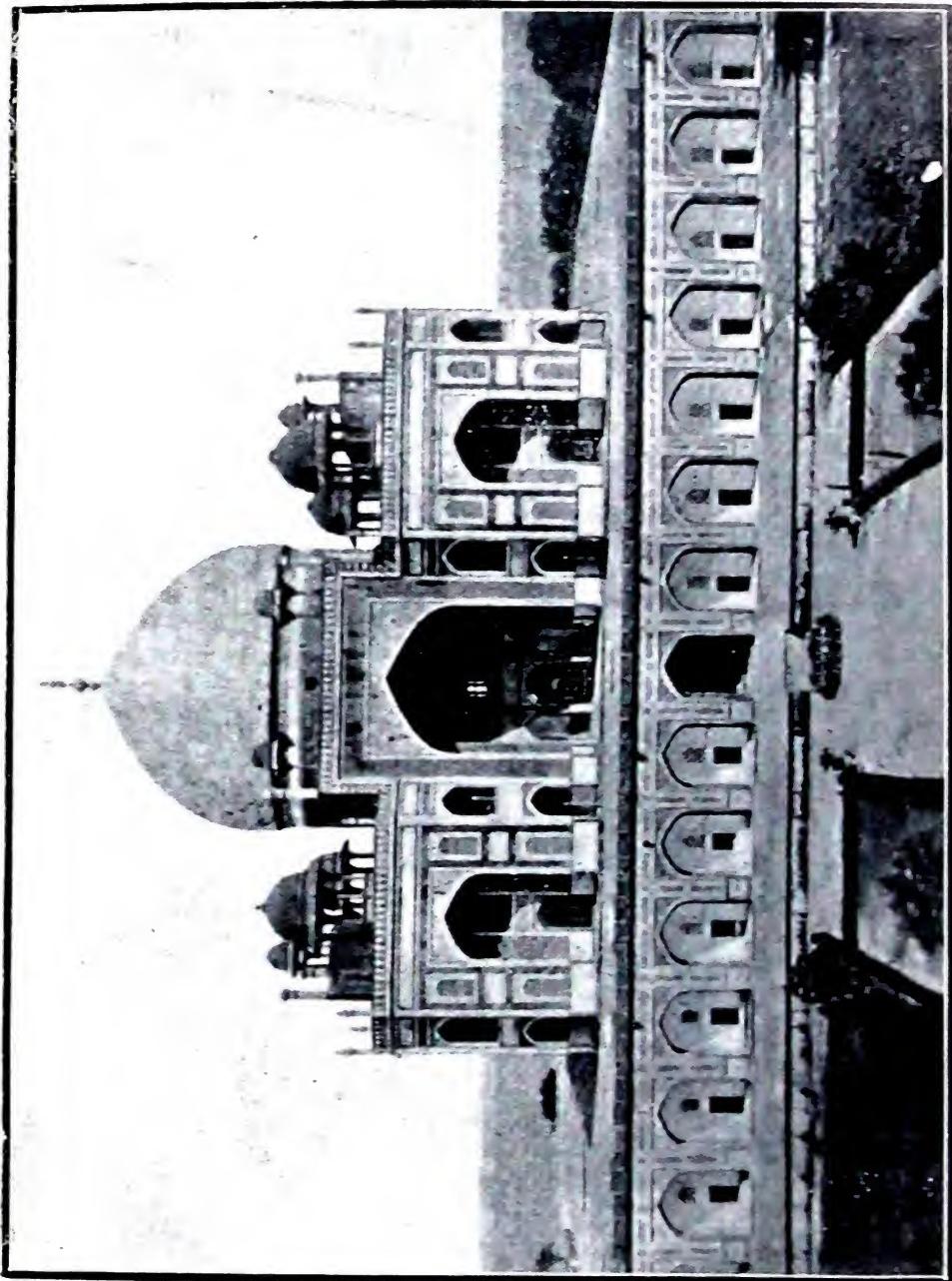
¹ Jauhar, B. M. MSS., Add. 16, 711, fol. 71b.

During his flight through the sandy desert of Sindh, when his men were almost dying with thirst His chivalry. and every one ran mad for water, news arrived of Shēr Shāh's troops' near approach. Humāyūn, at this juncture, ordered all his men, who were in a fit condition, to halt and engage the enemy in battle ; while the rest whose condition was sore were directed to move forward to a safe distance with women and children 115 in number. He kept the command of the fighting force directly in his own hands, and rode in front like a warrior giving heart to his tired, unwilling, and ill-equipped men. The enemy, however, did not appear on the scene, and Humāyūn rode back to the female section to communicate the good news of the enemy's non-appearance.

Even in his fall he was great, and showed the same elevation of character as he did when he wore a crown.



TOMB OF HUMĀYŪN, OLD DELHĪ.



INDEX

A

'Abdī, 154, 157, 162.
 'Abdurrahīm, 41, 165.
 'Abdurrahmān, 78.
 'Abdul Latīf, 53.
 Abul Fazl, 27, 39, 53,
 57, 65, 105, 184, 187,
 194.
 Abul Qāsim Astrābādī,
 5, 26, 27.
 Akbar, 4, 22, 39, 41, 57,
 65, 102, 103, 105, 107,
 109, 110, 111, 151,
 165.
 Al Husainī, 158.
 'Alī Dost, 7.
 'Alī, 158.
 'Ali Shīr, 6.
 Al-Mūsawī, 158.
 Amānī, 37.
 Amāni Kāblī, 52.
 Amīr Najm, 167.
 Anwārī, 63, 66, 67, 157.
 Ayyūb, 77.
 Āzar, 154.
 'Azrā, 104.

B

Bābur, 1, 4, 29, 45, 47,
 73, 75, 110, 182.
 Badāūnī, 43, 53, 57, 58,
 63, 65, 69, 70, 105,
 117, 128.
 Bahādur Gujarātī, 3.
 Bairām Khān, 18, 19, 39.
 Bahādur Shāh, 115.
 Bahrām Mīrzā, 102, 146,
 147, 148.
 Bā-Yazīd, 26, 35, 37
 103, 105.
 Bihbūd Chūbdār, 138.
 Bū-Bakr Sa'd, 162.

F

Faizī, 107.
 Farīd, 121, 122, 125,
 126.
 Farhād-wa Shīrīn, 168.
 Farishta, 27, 77, 129.
 Farāqī, 75, 77, 78.
 Fath 'Alī Shāh, 171.
 Firdaus-Makānī, 186.
 Firdausī, 109, 111.

G

Gabriel, 12, 20.
 General Rūmī Khān, 115.
 Gulbadan Begum, 184.

H

Hāfiẓ, 184, 188, 191.
 Haidar Mīrzā, 54.
 Hairatī of Māwarā un
 Nahr, 149.
 Hairatī, 52.
 Hakīm Ruknā i Kāshī,
 164.
 Hakīm Sadrā of Shīrāz,
 165.
 Hakīm Shifā'i, 171.
 Hasan Sūr, 121.
 Hasan, 126.
 Humāyūn, 1, 4, 5, 7, 10,
 11, 14, 21, 22, 36, 37,
 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45,
 47, 50, 52, 53, 56, 60,
 62, 66, 68, 70, 73, 77,
 79, 98, 99, 101, 102,
 103, 105, 109, 110,
 111, 113, 115, 117,
 125, 126, 137, 139,
 143, 144, 145, 146,
 147, 148, 149, 151,
 187, 191, 193, 196.
 Husain Quli Sultān, 138.

I

Ibrāhīm Sūr, 121.
 Imām Hasan, 153.
 Imām Husain, 153.
 Imāms, 153, 157.
 Iskandar Munshī, 152.

J

Jāhī Yatmiyān, 149.
 Jahāngīr, 4, 107, 137,
 165, 193.
 Jalāluddīn Muhammad
 Akbar Pādishāh, 103.
 Jamāl Khān, 121, 122.
 Jāmī, 57.
 Jamshīd, 2, 58.
 Jauhar, 26, 35, 55, 102,
 134, 144, 184.
 Jannat Āshyānī, 109.

K

Kabīr, 131.
 Kai-Khusrau, 2.
 Kāhī, 56, 57, 62.
 Kāmrān, 17, 37, 57, 110.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Kausarī, 168, 171.</p> <p>Khair-ul-Mulūk, 3.</p> <p>Khān-i-Khānān, 41, 165, 166, 171.</p> <p>Khāqān, 67, 171.</p> <p>Khwāja, 105, 107.</p> <p>Khwāja Abul Barakāt, 75.</p> <p>Khwāja Ayyūb, son of Khwāja Abul Barakāt, 35, 149.</p> <p>Khwāja Kalān, 4, 5.</p> <p>Khwāja Husain Mervī, 36, 135.</p> <p>Khwāja Mu'azzam Khān, 61.</p> <p>Khwāja Hijrī Jāmī, 149.</p> <p>Khwāndāmīr, 109.</p> <p>Kūnhaiyā, 119.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">L</p> <p>Lailā, 36, 59.</p> <p>Lailā wa Majnūn, 104.</p> <p>Lisānī Shīrāzī, 167.</p> <p>Lutf 'Alī Beg, 154.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">M</p> <p>Mahmūd, 22, 28.</p> <p>Majnūn, 37, 59.</p> <p>Manīja, 37.</p> | <p>Mäldeo, 119.</p> <p>Malik Muhammad Jā'isī, 119, 126, 131.</p> <p>Masih, 164.</p> <p>Masihuz-Zamān, 165.</p> <p>Maulānā Ilyās, 5, 26, 29, 35.</p> <p>Maulānā Jalālī Hindī, 35.</p> <p>Maulānā bin-i-Ashraf al Husainī, 35.</p> <p>Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī, 35, 47, 149.</p> <p>Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī, 35, 134.</p> <p>Maulānā Junūbī, 35, 149.</p> <p>Maulānā Muhammad Fāzil Samarqandī, 35.</p> <p>Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī, 36.</p> <p>Maulānā Muhammad bin-i-'Alī bin-i-Muhammad al-Miskīnī-al-Qāzī, 78.</p> <p>Maulānā 'Isām-uddīn, 105.</p> <p>Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī Sadr Turkistānī, 149.</p> <p>Maulānā Bazmī, 149.</p> <p>Maulānā Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, 149.</p> <p>Mīr Husein Dehlevī, 21.</p> <p>Mīr Waisī, 35.</p> |
|--|--|

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Mīr ‘Abdul Latīf
Qazwīnī, 35, 53, 149.</p> <p>Mīr ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī, 41.</p> <p>Mīr Abdul Hai Bukhārī,
149.</p> <p>Mīr Khosru Dehlevī, 21.</p> <p>Mīrzā Qulī Chūlī, 9.</p> <p>Mīrzā ‘Alā’uddaula Qaz-
wīnī, 26, 53.</p> <p>Mīrzā Hindāl, 37.</p> <p>Mīrzā Kāmrān, 42.</p> <p>Muhammad Khān Shā-
pūr, 25.</p> <p>Muhammad Humāyūn,
63.</p> <p>Muhammad Akbar, 66.</p> <p>Mullā Nūruddīn, 5, 29.</p> <p>Mullā Haīratī, 24.</p> <p>Mullā Pīr Muhammad,
52.</p> <p>Mullū, 127.</p> <p>Mullā Muhammad Sālih,
149.</p> <p>Mullā Jān Muhammad,
149.</p> <p>Mullā Lutfī, 163.</p> <p>Miyān Kālé, 57.</p> <p>Masīh-Ruknā-i-Kāshī,
151.</p> <p>Muhtasham Kāshī, 154,
171.</p> | <p>Nawāb Mubārak Khān,
104.</p> <p>Nizāmī-Astrābādī, 66</p> <p>Nizāmī, 22, 63, 121.</p> <p>Nizām Shāh Bahrī, 70.</p> <p>Nizām, 48, 104.</p> <p>Nūr Muhammad, 78.</p> <p>Q</p> <p>Qā’ānī, 172.</p> <p>Qarjā Khān, 137, 138.</p> <p>Qāsimī, 153, 154.</p> <p>Qāzī Yahyā, 52.</p> <p>Qāzī, 76, 123, 124.</p> <p>Qāzī Jahān, 146.</p> <p>Qazwīnī, 54, 167.</p> <p>R</p> <p>Rafī‘uddīn Husain, 74.</p> <p>Rājā, 44.</p> <p>Rājā Māldeo, 117, 118.</p> <p>Rūmī Khān, 116.</p> <p>S</p> <p>Sa‘dī, 121.</p> <p>Salmān Sāwajī, 75.</p> <p>Salmān, 67.</p> <p>Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr,
132.</p> <p>Sayyid Muhi‘uddīn, 132.</p> <p>Shāh Bābur, 2.</p> <p>Shaikh Zainuddīn, 5.</p> |
|---|--|
- N**
- Nādirī, 48.

- | | |
|---|---|
| Shāh Qutbeddīn, 21. | Shaikh Abdul Hai, 126. |
| Shāh Tāhir Dakhānī, 35. | Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh, 126. |
| Shāh Isma‘il II, 53, 54, 153, 154, 167. | Shaikh ‘Alī Bég, 138. |
| Shāh Tahmāsp, 53, 68, 102, 104, 143, 145, 146, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 162, 166, 167. | Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shīrāzī, 150, 151. |
| Shāh ‘Abbās, 151, 152, 163, 165, 168. | Shakībī Isfahānī, 165. |
| Shāh Ja‘far, 69, 70. | Sheikh Ferīd, 21. |
| Shāh ‘Ālam, 79. | Sheikh Nizām Weli, 21. |
| Shāhjahān, 4, 79. | Shér Khān, 121. |
| Shaikh Āzārī, 22. | Shér Shāh, 101, 102, 110, 117, 118, 119, 121, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 132, 141, 189, 196. |
| Shaikh Amānullāh Pānipatī, 35. | Shekr-Ghendj, 21. |
| Shaikh Gadā‘i-Dehlevī’ 35, 43. | Sikandar, 111, 121, 123. |
| Shaikh Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī, 35. | Sultān Chaghṭā’ī, 38. |
| Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shīrāzī, 35. | Sultān Sikandar Lodī, 38. |
| Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh, 38. | Sultān Husain, 41. |
| Shaikh Zainuddīn, 73. | Sultān ‘Ālam, 79. |
| Shaikh-ul-Mashā’ikh, 103. | Sultān Bahādur Gujrāti, 101, 110, 111, 115, 139. |
| Shaikh Abul Fazl, 103. | Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodī, 110. |
| Shaikh Mubārak, 103. | Sultān Muhammad, 121. |
| Shaikh Nizām, 104. | Sultān Bahlol Lodī, 121. |
| Shaikh Ruknuddīn ‘Alā-’uddaula-Samnānī, 105. | Sulaimān Jāh, 79. |
| Shaikh Ibn i Hajar II, 105. | Sir John Malcolm, 143. |
| | Shauqī Tabrizī, 150. |
| | Shānī Taklū, 163. |
| | Sām Mirzā, 151. |

T

Tardī Bég, 7, 8.
Timūr, 110, 137.

U

'Ulūgh Bég, 29, 137.

V

Vergil, 189.

W

Wāmiq, 104.

Y

Yūsufī, 73.
Yūsuf bin i Muhammad
Hirawī, 35.

Z

Zahīr, 67.
Zamīrī, 154, 157.
Zulaikhā, 62.

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